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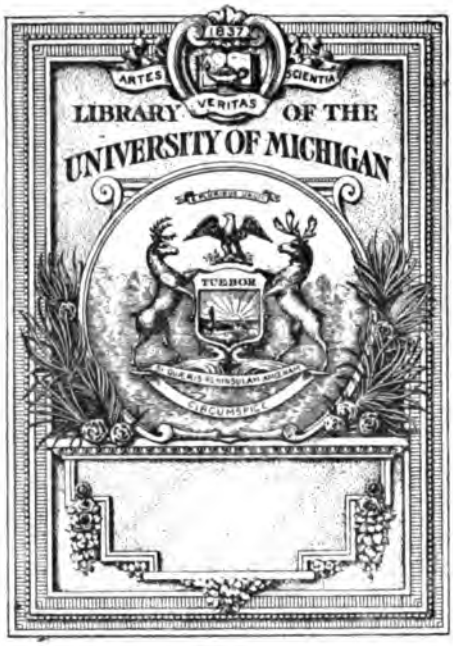
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MISCELLANEOUS

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GENEALOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

KINGS OF ARMENIA,

BY

PRINCE HUBBOFF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARMENIAN INTO THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE,

BY

LAZAR KOOZNETS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN INTO ENGLISH, AND COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT,

BY

JAMES GLEN

OF ASTRACHAN.

PREFACE.

THE Genealogical Catalogue, a translation of which is now laid before the public, was composed by an Armenian nobleman, of the name of Prince Hubboff, resident in Astrachan; and a copy of it in the original Armenian, accompanied with a Russian translation, was forwarded by him to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, in the year 1829. The Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund expressed a wish to have the Prince's history translated into the English language, and sent a request to that effect to my father, the Rev. William Glen, missionary at Astrachan. It is to this circumstance that the public owe the appearance of this translation.

Though the work is quite on a new plan, and is often abrupt and unconnected in its statements, I sincerely hope that it will be found to

be not entirely devoid of interest in many respects. A great variety of matter is introduced, and according to the calculation of the Armenians, who date the birth of Christ in the year of the world 5200, this catalogue embraces a space of no less than 4329 years, commencing in the year of the world 2263, and ending in the year of our Lord 1393. I have added a few notes where illustration seemed necessary: and here I beg leave to observe that I do not hold myself responsible for the correctness of any of the author's statements; nor do I profess to act any other part but that of translator. To review and compare *all* the facts brought forward throughout this work, with the account given of the same by other historians, would require a depth of research and an expense of time which it is utterly out of my power to bestow. Not being sufficiently master of the Armenian language, I have translated the work from a manuscript translation of it in the Russian language by an Armenian of the name of Lazar Kooznets. This being the case, it will naturally occur to some that this translation

is not calculated to serve as a model of Armenian composition; because, after going through a translation into two languages, namely, first into the Russian, and then into the English language, it must, at least in a great measure, have lost all traces of its original tone, or manner of expression. But this is not to be regretted, and the work need not on that account be considered as in any degree diminished in value; because Prince Hubboff's Genealogical Catalogue is not admired by the Armenians for the beauty of its composition: and its chief merit lies in the multiplicity of facts that are adduced, the great extent of time that it embraces, and the clearness with which the chronology is drawn out. And, therefore, whatever marks of imperfection this translation may display in other respects, I flatter myself that those traits in the character of the work itself which I have just mentioned, as being those for which it is chiefly to be recommended, are preserved unhurt. In cases of difficulty, I have availed myself of the assistance of good Armenian scholars to compare the Russian version with the original

Armenian manuscript: and what little knowledge I have of the Armenian language myself, has also enabled me to put all the proper names which occur throughout the work, into the corresponding characters in English: and thus, I hope, I have avoided the charge which has been so properly brought against many, namely, that of mangling the foreign proper names. I have scrupulously adhered to the plan of Prince Hubboff's catalogue in every respect but one; which is this:—I have left out the long lists of names which so frequently occur throughout the work, and have given a translation only of those names which have some sort of information attached to them. Prince Hubboff has written a preface of his own to this work; but it could not properly be attached to this translation, as the Prince does not seem to have understood the nature of a preface. That which he gives is very nearly a mere repetition of what is contained already in the main body of the catalogue; and besides, he takes it for granted that the reader has before him the large genealogical charts sent by the Prince, along with the ori-

ginal Armenian manuscript, to the Royal Asiatic Society, in the year 1829. For this reason I have not given any translation of the author's preface, as it would serve to confuse, rather than assist the reader; and would increase the size of the work without in any degree adding to its value.

In translating this Genealogical Catalogue, I very much regret I have not had the good fortune of being assisted by the noble author himself; as it pleased Providence to take him hence, in the year 1830, before I reached Astrachan.

It is probable that those who are well versed in ancient history will sometimes detect in this work transactions narrated very differently from the accounts given of the same by Greek and Roman writers. But when such instances of disagreement occur, they are not without their use; for they serve to exhibit the different versions of the same story as given by the historians of different nations: and thus furnish food for speculation, and afford ground for farther conjectures and theories with regard to the history of the

ancients. Hitherto the literature of Armenia has been completely overlooked, and there is hardly any subject that has been less generally attended to by Oriental scholars: a circumstance the more to be lamented when we consider the great relative importance of Armenia in the scale of primitive nations, and the unavoidable connexion between its history and that of the surrounding countries, which it is natural to suppose should long ago have induced the learned to cultivate a knowledge of the language of Armenia, and make researches into the historical records of that country, in the hope of casting some light upon *ancient history*. This, however, with a very few exceptions, has not yet been done; and the valuable productions of Armenian historians are, in a manner, left unnoticed and unknown. There are also many things in the old Armenian writers, which are well calculated to illustrate both the civil, and particularly the ecclesiastical, history of the *middle ages*. The histories written by Elisha, Lazar Pharbetsi, John the patriarch, Matthew of Edessa, Samuel of Aui, and others, are not yet known as they should be:

though they are well worthy of attention. The same may be said concerning Armenian works of a religious nature, such as the sermons of Nerses of Lampron, particularly his oration in the synod at Rom-Khalah; the writings of Nerses Shenorhalï and others, which are all very excellent pieces of composition, and would abundantly reward the pains of a translator.

The learned professor Neumann of St. Lazaro lately issued an English translation of the very valuable "History of Vartan and of the battle of the Armenians," and it was printed for the Oriental Translation Fund in the year 1830.

It is to be hoped that since a beginning has been made, others will come forward with their translations; and thus lay open to public view the long neglected literary and historical stores of Armenia.

TRANSLATOR.

Scotch Colony, Karass,
Government of Caucasus,
May 14th, 1833.

GENEALOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

KINGS OF ARMENIA.

A. M. 2263. Hapet, son of Noah, second forefather of the world, was our first ancestor, according to the translation of the Septuagint, and he had eight sons, viz.: Gamer, Magog, Madai, Tobel, Mosok, Tiras, Havan, and Eghisa, or Elisha;—hence the Hapethiani. To Gamer, son of Hapet, were born Torgom and Askanaz;—hence the Gameriani. To Torgom was born a son called Haik, from whom has proceeded our nation of the Haikans. Askanaz, son of Gamer, gave rise to the Askanazeani; also to the Sarmatalsi, and the inhabitants of the East.

2533. Haik, son of Torgom, father of the Haikans, *i. e.* of the Armenians, fifth in descent from Noah, and forefather of our ancient deities, was born, according to the calculation of the Septuagint, in the year of the world 2533. He commenced his reign over the Armenians in the year 2885, and governed them for about eighty years. To Haik were born Armenak,

Manavaz, Khor, &c. &c., and he had grandchildren to the number of three hundred. Our historians, the High Priest John, Archimandrite Vartan, Gregory Magister, and our celebrated historiographer Moses of Khoren,* assure us that Haik was one of the patriarchs who took a part in building the tower of Babel. Unwilling, however, any longer to acknowledge the supremacy of

* Moses of Khoren flourished in the fifth century. He composed a History of Armenia from the commencement of that empire to the year of our Lord 440; also some geographical descriptions, and a few other compositions of different kinds. This historian derived his information from the national records, from the manuscript scrolls preserved in the temples, from the historical memoirs found in the archives of Edessa, from the ancient manuscripts taken out of the library at Niniveh, from the testimony of Maribas, from the manuscript of Africanus, and from other celebrated historians of ancient times. The history of Moses of Khoren — not to mention the fables which are to be found therein, and which the composer himself does not credit — contains exceedingly curious particulars, such as it would be in vain to seek elsewhere. His chronology is neither definite nor clear from the commencement of the history to the dynasty of the Arsacides, in Parthia and Armenia; but from this time to the end of the history, the date of each event is clearly ascertained, and confirmed by the testimony of contemporary writers. In Moses of Khoren are joined two qualities, apparently incompatible, and for which he is remarkable throughout all his compositions. Though brief in his statements, he is always eloquent, expresses much in few words, and enables the reader to guess without trouble at that which he leaves untold.—See a French work entitled—"Recherches curieuses sur l'Histoire ancienne de l'Asie, puisées dans les manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale, et d'autres; Par J. M. Chahan de Cirbied et F. Martin. à Paris, 1806."

Nimrod, he left Babel, and departed with his family into the land of Ararat. Moses of Khoren here remarks that, "in Babylon every one grasped at the supreme power for himself, and in his fury ran his friend through the ribs with his sword," &c. Haik subdued the primitive inhabitants of the land of Ararat, viz. such of them as lived in the plain, and spoke the language of their forefather Noah. When he had established his authority in this place, he entrusted its government to his grandson Cadmus, and then proceeded westwards, and settled on an elevated plain which he called Haik. Its inhabitants were the descendants of Torgom. He also built a city here, and called it Haikashen, after his own name. For a minute account of these transactions see the History of Moses of Khoren. Baal, *i. e.* Nimrod, sent an embassy to Haik, under the direction of his son, with the following proposition: "Wherefore hast thou taken up thy residence in these cold, chilly regions? Warm the frost of thy proud spirit, and be subject to me. Come, live in peace, and inhabit whatever part of my territories thou choosest." But Haik was rough with the ambassadors, and sent them back. Enraged at this, Baal collected a numerous army, and hastened to the land of Ararat. Cadmus immediately sent messengers to inform his grandfather Haik, saying, "O thou great offspring of the gods! know that Baal with his brave heroes, tall giants, and powerful archers, is preparing to fall

upon thee. At this fearful news I am myself in terror, and am flying with all haste to join you. You must speedily resolve on what measures to take." In the mean time Baal advanced with daring impetuosity, like the overflowing of a rapid river, and hastened over the country with his mighty troops, in order to reach the territories of Haik. But this sagacious and prudent general, without loss of time, collected his sons and descendants, who were brave men, and also of skilful archers not a few. He then addressed them as follows: "When we meet the army of Baal, endeavour to make your approaches chiefly upon that part of it where Baal himself is with his body-guard. We shall then either die ourselves, and our families be subject to bondage; or else we shall display the vigour of our arms by dispersing his troops, and obtaining the victory." When the giants came in contact, they produced a dreadful carnage. The blood ran in streams upon the ground from the blows which they dealt to each other. This Titan Baal, by no means anticipating so vigorous an opposition on the part of Haik, was alarmed, and skulked away to his camp, in order to shelter himself under the protection of his soldiers, until such time as fresh troops should arrive to his assistance. Who would not wish to have witnessed this scene of heroism, conducted as it was by the bold spirit of Haik, the bravest of Armenian generals! Our celebrated historiographer Moses of Khoren, as if himself an eye-witness, and

actively engaged in great exploits by strength of arm, rather than with his pen, and boasting with a noble pride and elevation of soul, narrates this event, already long consigned to oblivion, and buried under the weight of years, in the following manner:—

"When Haik, who was a skilful archer, perceived that Baal was retiring, he advanced to the front, and approaching the king, he bent his bow with his whole force, and let fly an arrow at him, which pierced Baal's treble coat of mail, and penetrated his shoulders. In this manner the haughty giant was laid prostrate on the earth, and gave up the ghost. When his army beheld this disastrous exploit of their opponents, they betook themselves to flight. On the spot where this battle was fought Haik built a city, and in commemoration of the victory he had gained, called it Haik; but the exact place where Baal fell received the name of Kerezman, *i. e.* a sepulchre. After the body had been embalmed, it was transferred to Haikashen, and consigned to the earth in the presence of his wife and children."

But Archimandrite Vartan* values at a still higher

* Vartan flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote a history of Armenia from the creation of the world to the year of our Lord 1267. It contains much information regarding the history of the surrounding countries. This historian knew many oriental languages, and made researches into many archives and ancient records. All that he says concerning the ancients is founded on the testimony of the Magi and heathen priests, and the attestation of Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian writers.

rate the splendid feats of bravery performed by Haik, and supposing that Haik himself was zealous for the honour of God, he commends him thus: — "Haik would not worship the statue of Baal, as did the seventy-one patriarchs; but trusting to the all-powerful right arm of the Supreme Being, he prostrated the chief of the idolatrous heathens, then living, dead to the ground." Moses, who derived his information from Maribas,* calls Haik an offspring of the gods, and says that he was curly-haired and very handsome, ingenious, of a vigorous arm, skilful in managing the bow, brave, prudent, &c. And this account is true; for the bravery which he displayed, was such as might reasonably be expected from a person of superior qualities, both of mind and body.

Ancient historians, such as Mihitar Anets and Archimandrite Vartan, affirm that Haik had seven brothers, viz. — Kartloss, forefather of the Kartlians, *i. e.* the Grusians, or Georgians, Bard, Movkan, Leka or Gheka, forefather of the Gheki, *i. e.* the Lezgees, Herar, Kovkas, forefather of the nations inhabiting the mountains of Caucasus, and Egress, forefather of the Egertsi, *i. e.* the Circassians.

2934. Armenak, son of Haik, upon the death of his father, governed the Armenians for about ninety-six years.

* For an account of this Maribas, see the reigns of Vagharshak, A. M. 5056, in this work.

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He changed the name of the mountain Arakats into Armenakats, after his own name. It became his ordinary place of residence, and he planted there a large grove of pine-trees.

3030. Aramaiss, son of Armenak, reigned after the death of his father forty years. He built a town of rock-stone on a certain elevated plain, in the province of Ararat, on the banks of the river Kehover (Araxes). He called the town Armavir, after his own name, and he called the river by the name of Eraskh, after his grandson Erast. Armavir was the chief town of Armenia, and afterwards became the capital, which it continued to be until the expiration of the Haikan dynasty.*

To Aramaiss was born a son named Shara, after whom the province in which he resided was called Shirak. He was remarkable chiefly for his great powers in eating; so that he gave rise to this proverb:—"If thou hast the appetite of a Shara, even our province of Shirak will not suffice thee for a barn."

3120. Amacia, son of Aramaiss, dwelt in Armavir, and begat three sons, viz.—Kegham the handsome, Pharokh the brave, and Tsolak the quick-sighted. He went with these sons to mount Ararat, at the foot of which he built, at a great expense, two famous villages,

* The Haikan dynasty expired after the death of Vahe, in the year of the world 4872.

situated about one day's journey from each other. He gave them to his two sons Pharokh and Tsolak: so that the villages obtained the name of Pharakhot and Tsolakert. — Amacia reigned eighty-two years.

Kegham the handsome, son of Amacia, succeeded to the government in Armavir. He left his son Harma, with his children, behind; and having entrusted him with the government of the people in his absence, he went himself to the other side of the river Eraskh, *i. e.* the Araxes, and founded a city upon the side of the lake Sevan, calling it Kegharkooni, *i. e.* a royal village. Moses of Khoren says, that here Kegham begat Sisak, who was an active man, and of a noble appearance, prudent and skilful in archery.— Kegham reigned one hundred years.

Sisak Aghoo, son of Kegham, peopled the above-mentioned village, which his father had given to him, and called it Sisakan. He gradually extended his territories until he reached the river Koor and the Caspian sea, and called them Aghoovan, which signifies "an agreeable country."

3302. Harma, son of Kegham, succeeded to the government in Armavir, upon his father's decease. He strengthened the town wall, and built several magnificent palaces. — He reigned seventy years.

3372. Aram, son of Harma, inherited the throne of his father, and became famous over the whole world, for the prudent and manly bravery which he displayed

in the service of his country. He extended his dominion from the mountains of Caucasus to Mount Taurus, and drove all his enemies out of the country, who were very desirous to invade the territories of Armenia, and to oppress the people. Moses of Khoren remarks that "Aram chose rather to suffer death in defence of his country, than see it in subjection to foreigners." The Medes, impelled by avarice and jealousy, made an incursion into certain provinces of Armenia, under the conduct of its implacable enemy, viz. a certain haughty grandee whose name was Nivkar Mades;—so that the Armenians were two years in subjection to the Medes, and paid tribute. In the mean time, however, Aram collected about fifty thousand men, who were skilful in shooting the arrow and in throwing the javelin. Early in the morning, before sunrise, he fell suddenly on the Median army, and made a dreadful slaughter of it. He took Nivkar Mades prisoner, and led him to Armavir, where he ordered him to be hung up at the top of a high tower. He drove a nail through his forehead, and then left him suspended from the wall, that he might serve as an object of derision to the passers-by.

In the course of other three years, Barsham, prince of Babylon, invaded Armenia with forty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. Aram attacked him also, and after having made a great slaughter of the army, he caught Barsham himself, and slew him. Aram now led his army, which consisted of forty thousand infantry

and two thousand cavalry, into Cappadocia. He banished Paiapis, the prince of that country, to the island of Cyprus, and left Meesak, one of his own relations, to be his deputy in Cappadocia, with a force of ten thousand men. Before leaving it himself, he ordered the inhabitants to be taught the Armenian language, and then returned to Armenia. By his prudent regulations he brought the nation into a flourishing condition, and, out of respect to him, foreigners called our country Armenia, and our people Arameani, *i. e.* Armenians.

When Ninus ascended the throne of Assyria as absolute monarch, he burned with hatred, and a desire to revenge the death of his forefather Baal by Haik, and therefore he sought an opportunity to avenge it upon Haik's posterity. But, by the prudent advice of his seniors, he deferred this malicious design to some other time; for he feared Aram, and made peace with him, calling him the Second after himself, and allowed him to wear a diadem set with precious stones. — Aram reigned fifty-eight years. This is attested by Herodotus I. 95, and by the Greek historian Ctesias.

Meesak, Aram's commander-in-chief, built a town in Cappadocia, and having surrounded it with a wall, he called it Mshak, after his own name. But as the pronunciation of the word Mshak was difficult for the inhabitants, they changed it to Mazhak. This town was afterwards called Cæsarea.

3430. Arai the handsome, son of Aram, was also respected by Ninus. He commanded the army twenty-six years, and was at last killed by the luxurious Semiramis.* After his name, Armenia received the name of the Ararat kingdom. According to the accounts of Moses of Khoren, John the High Priest, and Gregory Magister, Arai begat Kordoss, or Doss.

3459. Kardoss, the son of Arai, reigned eighteen years.

* A more enlarged account of the death of Arai, and the cause of it, is given by Moses of Khoren in the following manner: — "The luxurious Semiramis having long heard of thebeauty of Arai, had formed the desire of seeing him personally, and did not scruple openly to express her wish. Therefore, after the death of Ninus—or rather, according to my opinion, when he fled to Crete — Semiramis, with a view to procure relief from the disease which preyed on her heart, sent an embassy to Arai the beautiful, with many valuable gifts, beseeching him by the promise of great rewards to come to her in Niniveh, and take her to wife; and thus obtain possession of the whole kingdom of Niniveh: or else, if he thought proper, return to his own country in peace, after he had gratified her wishes. But, notwithstanding that ambassadors were frequently deputed on both sides, Arai would not consent to her proposals. At this, Semiramis became so enraged, that she cut short the embassy, gathered a numerous army, and hastened with it into the land of Armenia against Arai; — not, as may be supposed, for the purpose of putting him to death; but in order to conquer him, and by force ensure his compliance with her proposals; because, it is said, she was enamoured of him even to madness. With this design Semiramis entered the plain of Arai, and having ranged the army in battle order, instructed her generals to endeavour by all means to preserve Arai unhurt. But the army of Arai was defeated, and Arai himself slain by the sons of Semiramis."

3474. Anooshavan, the son of Kardoss, reigned sixty-three years.

3537. Paret reigned fifty years.

3587. Arbak reigned forty-four years.

3631. Zavan reigned thirty-seven years.

3668. Pharnak I. reigned fifty-three years.

3721. Soor reigned forty-five years.

3766. Havanak reigned thirty years.

3796. Vashtak reigned twenty-two years.

3818. Haikak I. reigned eighteen years.

3836. Ambak I. reigned fourteen years.

3850. Arnak reigned seventeen years.

3867. Shavarsh I. reigned six years.

3873. Norair reigned twenty-four years.

3897. Vestam reigned fourteen years.

3910. Kar reigned four years.

3914. Korak reigned eighteen years.

3932. Herant I. reigned twenty-five years.

3957. Endsak reigned fifteen years.

3972. Keghak reigned thirty years.

4002. Horoi reigned three years.

4005. Zarmair governed Armenia twelve years. In the Trojan war he fought bravely against the great Achilles; but unfortunately was killed by him.

4019. Shavarsh II. reigned forty-four years.

4062. Perch I. reigned thirty-five years. He collected a large army, and made new regulations for it,

such as should strike terror into the neighbouring nations, many of whom he brought into subjection.

4097. Arboon reigned twenty-seven years.

4124. Perch II. reigned forty years.

4164. Pazook the long-lived, reigned fifty years.

4214. Hoi, who had a peculiar aspect, reigned forty-four years.

4258. Hoosak reigned thirty-one years.

4289. Ambak II. reigned twenty-seven years.

4316. Kaipak reigned forty-five years.

4361. Pharnavaz I. reigned thirty-three years.

4394. Pharnak II. reigned forty years. He was not brave, and consequently Armenia became subject to foreign nations.

4434. Skavordi reigned seventeen years, and begat a son, whom he called Parooir. Up to this time, Armenia was governed successively by the above-mentioned rulers, in the quality of uncrowned monarchs.

4451. Parooir, the son of Skavordi, entered upon the government of the empire in the second year after the foundation of Rome. This is narrated by Moses of Khoren, Part I. chapters 20 and 21; John the High Priest, Herodotus, Part I. chap. 95, Diodorus II. 7, Athanasius XII., Justin, Vol. I. Book 3rd, &c. &c. These historians say that Parooir greatly improved the administration of Armenia by his bravery and prudence (4453). Arbak, Prince of Media, sought his alliance

to go to war against Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, and obtained it by promising to confer on him the dignity of king. Wherefore Parooir joined Arbak with a large army, and they took Niniveh from Sardanapalus after a siege of three years.

Tonus Concolerus, *i. e.* Sardanapalus, having ascertained by divination that the town could not be taken unless the river Tigris broke into it, thought he was secure, and therefore abandoned himself to luxury and dissipation. But a heavy shower of rain, which fell soon after, produced an overflow of the Tigris, and destroyed a part of the wall. As soon as Sardanapalus saw this, he ordered a great quantity of wood to be set on fire, in which he and all his family, with his concubines, eunuchs, and possessions, fell a sacrifice to the flames. Arbak then ascended the throne of Assyria, and according to his promise he conferred upon Parooir the dignity of absolute monarch, with all its appropriate badges and distinctions. This took place in the year of the world 4456, and in the year 743 before Christ. The Assyrian empire, which had lasted 1669 years since the erection of the Tower of Babel, was from this date divided into three monarchies, viz. — the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Median; under the last of which designations were included also the Persians. But Armenia was not, like other nations, subject to any one: on the contrary, it was governed by its own chiefs, who possessed all the powers and privileges of kings, with this exception, that they

were not crowned; and it continued thus until the time of Parooir, who was the first crowned monarch of Armenia. — He reigned forty-eight years, and died in peace.

Moses of Khoren, when he treats on this period of his history, is greatly overjoyed, and expresses himself thus: — "Our countryman Parooir, who lived in the days of Sardanapalus, rendered no small assistance to Arbak the Mede, in depriving Sardanapalus of his kingdom. And now my mind is elevated with delight, when I reach those times in which our ancestors first obtained the regal dignity." To this he adds, — "For me it would have been exceedingly agreeable to have received my being in those days. I and my fellow-countrymen might then have lived in comfort, and been freed from our present miseries. — But those happy days have long since been hid from our eyes."

4482. During the reign of Parooir, Salmanasar, king of Assyria, attacked Jerusalem, and conquered it, in the year of the world 4482. He took the Israelites captive (4490), and from that time the kingdom of Israel was at an end. Sennecherim, king of Assyria, and son of Salmanasar, besieged Jerusalem in the time of king Hezekiah, but sustained a signal defeat; because the angel of God slew one hundred and eighty-five thousand of his men, so that he was forced to retreat with disgrace. Imagining that the displeasure of the gods had occasioned his defeat, he wished to offer up his sons,

Adramelek and Sarasar, as a sacrifice to the idol Aserah, thinking by that means to appease the wrath of the gods. But when his sons were informed of this intention, they slew him in the very presence of the idol, and fled to Armenia, to king Parooir, in the year 4494.

4499. Hratshia, son of Parooir, reigned twenty-two years. He obtained the name of Hratshia, on account of the beauty of his countenance, and the lustre of his eyes.

4521. Pharnavaz II., son of Hratshia, reigned thirteen years, in the days of king Manasseh.

4534. Patshoitsh, son of Pharnavaz, reigned thirty-five years.

4569. Kornak, son of Patshoitsh, reigned eight years.

4577. Phavoss, son of Kornak, reigned seventeen years.

4594. Haikak II., son of Phavoss, reigned thirty-six years.

4630. Eruand I., son of Haikak II., reigned four years.

4634. Tigran I., son of Eruand, was a handsome man, and exceedingly virtuous. His reign in Armenia was distinguished for its bravery, and he excelled all our kings, as well as those of other nations, in prudence. By force of arms, he extended the boundaries of the empire, subdued many nations, and imposed a tribute on the Greeks. He improved the people in their dress, in their food, and in many other things ; and was celebrated over the whole world for his wealth, his virtuous

character, and his useful regulations, both for war and peace; so that he obtained universal honour and praise.

In a battle against Astyages, king of Media, Tigran thrust a three-pointed lance into his breast, and forced his numerous army to seek safety in flight.

Tigran also went to war, along with Cyrus, against Crœsus, king of Lydia, whom, when he had taken him captive, Cyrus ordered to be burned. But Croesus cried out the name of "Solon!" and therefore Cyrus took compassion on him, and delivered him from punishment; because he recognized the meaning of his words, viz. that "good fortune does not last for ever."

4665. Tigran, along with his ally Cyrus, conquered Babylon, and took it from king Baghdasar, (the *Belshazzar* of Daniel, and *Nabonadius* of other writers). Cyrus then appointed his uncle Darius, the son of Astyages, to be king of Babylon. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of Jeremiah, the prophet, concerning the taking of Babylon, in chap. 41, v. 27. "Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenar; appoint a captain against her; cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars."

Moses of Khoren says, — "Tigran enriched us exceedingly with the gold and silver, and with the precious stones, and rich dresses both for men and women, which he had obtained as spoil from his enemies. Those

ornaments transformed ugliness into beauty; but to beauty they gave the appearance of something divine. By his bravery, he secured peace and plenty to the whole country," &c.

Tigran expired after a reign of forty-five years, and left three sons; namely, Bab, Tiran, and Vahakn.

4679. Vahakn, being the bravest of these three sons of Tigran, succeeded to the throne. He was remarkably bold, and the bravery which he displayed was not inferior even to that of Hercules. Hence the Armenians and Georgians wrote fabulous odes in praise of his illustrious descent and rare exploits. A statue was also erected to his memory, and they afterwards reckoned him among the number of their gods, and worshipped him with sacrifices. — Vahakn reigned twenty-seven years.

4706. Aravan, son of Vahakn, reigned eighteen years.

4724. Nerseh, son of Aravan, reigned thirty-five years.

4759. Zareh, son of Nerseh, reigned forty-six years.

4805. Armok, son of Zareh, reigned nine years.

4814. Baigam, son of Armok, reigned fourteen years.

4828. Van, son of Baigam, reigned twenty years.

4848. Vahe, son of Van, reigned twenty-four years. —He was exceedingly brave even from his infancy; and afterwards fought with success in many battles. With a heroic spirit he took up arms against Alexander of

Macedon; but while attacking his numerous army, of which he made a great slaughter, he lost his own life, and thus finished his career of heroism. Armenia now fell under the power of the Macedonians, and from this period the Haikan dynasty was extinct until the reins of government were resumed by the Arshakooni (Arscacides).

4882. Ardooard governed Armenia, as commander-in-chief, thirty-three years.

4915. Herand II. reigned in the quality of commander-in-chief, during the space of forty-five years.

4960. Artavazd reigned in the same capacity fifty years.

5010. Artashes governed Armenia as commander-in-chief thirty years. It is said that Artashad, one of the capital cities of Armenia, was built by him, according to the plan, and under the direction of Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general, who had fled to him for protection against the persecution of Antiochus.

5040. Artavazd, son of Artashes, reigned ten years. He was the last of the Armenian Satraps, immediately before the family of Arshak ascended the throne.

5050. Vagharshak I., brother of Arshak, king of Parthia, was appointed by his brother to be king of Armenia, in the year 149 before Christ. Arshak also ordered him to transfer his throne to the capital town of Mitsbin, in the district of Aetsnia, and dismissed him with this maxim:—"Consider as your own whatever your courage

enables you to acquire, because the brave acknowledge no limits but the edge of their swords, and whatever they obtain by force of arms, becomes their own property." Therefore Vagharshak collected an immense army with which he marched to the banks of the river Araxes, near the town of Armavir; and when his army had been sufficiently drilled and inured to military discipline, he removed to the West, towards Little Armenia. The king of it, at that time, was Morpheulikess, and when he heard of Vagharshak's fearful approach, he sought for assistance from the inhabitants of Cappadocia, Pontus, Phrygia, and Macedon; and with these combined forces advanced to meet Vagharshak. Morpheulikess was a very brave man, and, being defended by an iron breastplate, he came forward boldly to the front with a chosen body of warriors, and precipitated himself furiously upon Vagharshak. In his impatience to reach him, he overthrew many of Vagharshak's best men; and when he found himself sufficiently near the king, he directed his bow dexterously against him, as if at a bird on its most rapid flight. But at this critical moment the brave warriors of the race of Haik, who had already fought their way to the centre, averted his intended aim, by piercing the hero with their lances. His army was also put to the rout, and so great was the slaughter, that the blood flowed on the ground like a stream of water after a shower of rain. In this manner, Vagharshak put under subjection

the whole of the inhabitants of Cappadocia and the neighbouring districts; so that the glory of Macedon was at an end, and with it vanished also the power of the Seleucides. The illustrious Vagharshak now became curious regarding the history of his country, and desired to ascertain from whom the Armenian people were originally descended, by what sort of rulers they had been governed, and what exploits they had performed. He wished to inform himself on these points, in order that he might know whether or not the country which he now occupied had once been the site of brave and distinguished characters. But being unable to satisfy his curiosity, he sent Maribas the Syrian, who was a very learned man, and skilful in the Chaldean and Greek languages, with a letter to his brother Arshak, king of Niniveh, beseeching him to show Maribas the ancient historical records, that from them he might extract some particulars regarding the history of Armenia. When Arshak received the said letter from the hand of Maribas, he commended his brother's zeal for knowledge, and ordered the royal library of Niniveh to be thrown open to his inspection. Among other books, Maribas found one in the Greek language with the following inscription: —"This book was translated by order of Alexander the Great, from the Chaldean into the Greek language, and contains a history of the primitive nations." From this book Maribas extracted the history of Armenia from the time of Haik to that of Parooir.

When he brought it to Vagharshak in Mitsbin, he received it with great joy, and placed it in the royal treasury, there to be preserved with care. It is evident, therefore, that the ancient history of Armenia is more valid than that of all other nations except the Jews.—Vagharshak expired in the capital town of Mitsbin, after a reign of twenty-two years. The throne of Armenia was afterwards filled by his descendants in hereditary succession; and they bore the appellation of the Arshakooni (Arscacides); but were also styled "The Parthians."

5072. Arshak I., son of Vagharshak, ascended the throne in the year of the world 5072. In his government he followed the praiseworthy example of his father, by establishing many wise regulations. He also subdued the inhabitants of Pontus who had rebelled, and at the place where the battle was fought, viz. on the shore of the Black Sea, he erected a marble monument in honour of the victory which he had gained. This monument was for a long time afterwards held in reverence by the inhabitants of Pontus, and respected by them as a divine wonder.—Arshak expired after a reign of thirteen years.

5085. Artashes I., son of Arshak, was from his very infancy a favourite of his grandfather Vagharshak, on account of his boldness and keen eyesight: and even during the first years of his reign excelled most of his

contemporaries in bravery. The king of Persia was, at that time, considered to be higher in rank than he; but Artashes secured the superiority on the throne to himself, by defeating the Persians, and building castles on their frontiers. He also ordered the money to be stamped with his own likeness. He retained his son Tigran with himself to succeed him on the throne, and appointed Varzh, son of Dat, a descendant of Kegham, to instruct him in the arts of war and of virtue. He gave his daughter, Artasham, in marriage to Mithridates the Great, commander-in-chief of Georgia, who was descended from Mithridates, the general of Darius, and appointed him to govern the territories lying near the northern mountains and the sea of Pontus (5101.) Artashes began to be puffed up at his great success, and wished to possess the whole world. With this view he gathered from the eastern and northern frontiers so great an army, that he could not even number it. He had, therefore, to content himself with ordering that the soldiers should each of them fling one stone into an heap, and in this manner they formed several large hills. Indeed, so great was the number of these soldiers, that the flight of their arrows was like a cloud, and converted the light of the midday sun into the darkness of night. With this large army he proceeded westwards, conquered Asia Minor, the Hellespont, and Thrace,— demolished several important towns, — took captive

Crœsus, king of Lydia,*—and defeated the Phocians and Spartans; so that he struck terror into all the Mediterranean countries. He returned victoriously to Armenia; and after he had made his son Tigran king, went himself into Persia, no one presuming to oppose his enterprise. But it is to be regretted that one so generally feared, and who was sovereign of the universe, finished his course on a bed of sickness, and not on the field of honour; for, while enfeebled by disease, he was murdered by his own soldiers, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Before his death he exclaimed with a faint voice, "Alas! glory soon vanishes."

Polycrates gives the following account of him:—"To me Artashes, the Parthian, appears to be more excellent than Alexander of Macedon; for he obtained possession of Babylon without leaving his own empire, and not having yet crossed the turbulent river Halys, he defeated the Lydian army, and took captive Crœsus himself. News was brought of this event, and it was proclaimed by the common crier in the citadel of Athens, even before Artashes had entered the territories of Asia Minor. O how fortunate it would have been had he died in his own kingdom, instead of doing so while on the retreat!" Evagoras' account is somewhat similar:—

* The author here seems to be inconsistent, having already attributed this circumstance to Tigran, A. M. 4665; and perhaps the only way to reconcile the apparent contradiction is to suppose the Crœsus here mentioned to be another king of Lydia of the same name with the former.—TRANSLATOR.

"The conflict between Alexander and Darius was insignificant in comparison with the battles fought by Artashes, because the dust raised by the army of Alexander obscured the daylight only a little; whereas the shooting of arrows from the army of Artashes converted the sun into darkness, and changed midday into night. The fountains of water would not communicate their moisture to the fields in the winter time, being used for the supply of his army, which was so large, that in order to form an estimate of its number, he was obliged to have resort to measurement rather than numeration. There was not a single person left of the Lydian army to give an account of its slaughter, and he ordered Crœsus, king of the Lydians, to be seated in a frying-pan."

Phygonius narrates concerning him as follows:—"Artashes, the Parthian, was the greatest of all kings; because he not only defeated the Lydians, and put Crœsus in chains, but in the Hellespont changed the very nature of the elements; so that people traversed the seas with as much freedom as if they were on dry land. He routed the Lacedemonians, — put the Phocians to flight,—and obliged the Bœotians to capitulate: and thus made the whole of Greece to tremble at his power. But adversity soon after entirely changed the face of affairs. Cyrus was not so afflicted in the war with the Massagetæ; Darius did not suffer so much when he fled from the Scythians; nor Cambyses in Ethiopia; nor Xerxes when he led his army into Greece, and had afterwards to

abandon his treasures and his camp. Not one of these was so unfortunate as Artashes; because, in the very midst of his victories, he was murdered by his own soldiers."

5110. Tigran II., son of Artashes I., ascended the throne of Armenia upon the death of his father. He gathered a numerous army, and after he had put the empire in a proper state, made an attack together with his son-in-law Mithridates against the Greeks, and put them to flight. He also conquered Asia Minor, the government of which he entrusted to Mithridates, and at the same time appointed him king of Pontus, and of the other nations on the Mediterranean sea. He became so much elated at this success, that he imagined the will of all mankind must of necessity be subject to his own pleasure. According to the accounts of Plutarch, and the Roman historians, he obliged many of the kings who had been taken captive by him, to serve him standing with folded hands, and he retained four of their number to be his constant attendants; so that on certain occasions, when he rode on horseback, they walked before him on foot. Also, whenever the king addressed them from his throne, they stood up as a sign of their submission. — Plutarch gives a diffuse account of this in his history of Lucullus, p. 418.

5120. A disagreement having taken place among the Seleucidæ, they besought Tigran that he would come and reign over them. In compliance with

their request, he marched at the head of a numerous army against Antiochus Pius; and after he had subdued him, he reigned himself over the Seleucidæ and other Asiatics, by which he inspired even the Romans with fear. This is attested by the following authors; namely — Justin, Appius, Porphyrius, and Eusebius. He made an inroad into Palestine, whence he took many of the Jews captive. He also made a bold attack against the Syrians, took the town of Ptolemais, and seized Queen Cleopatra and killed her. For the purpose of opposing the Roman general, Lucullus, Tigran collected an army of six hundred thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand infantry. When he had declared his son Artavazd to be king, he expired in the eighty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-four years.

5112. Mithridates was son-in-law of Tigran II., by whom he was appointed king of Pontus, and being assisted by his armies, he became celebrated over all nations and kingdoms, and greatly extended the boundaries of the empire. Valerius Maximus, Quinctilian, and Pliny, relate that he conversed to perfection in all languages, without the assistance of an interpreter. Pliny adds, that "he was the only person who ever spoke twenty-two languages; and during his reign he never conversed by means of an interpreter, with any of the people whom he had subdued."

The Roman generals attacked Mithridates with a numerous army of two hundred thousand men; but they

were repulsed by Mithridates with great slaughter. Many of them were taken prisoners, and the rest were put to flight, leaving much booty behind them. In like manner, Tigran having met Aquilius Manuvius with a force of twenty-four thousand armed infantry and cavalry, killed ten thousand of them, and took three thousand prisoners. The Roman general fled shamefully in the night; and when the army heard of this, each soldier followed the example of his leader, and betook himself to flight. When peace was restored, Mithridates set all the prisoners at liberty, and granted them the provisions necessary for their return home. — This humane treatment was soon noised abroad: so that he was rewarded by universal encomium, and many submitted to him of their own free-will, calling him God and Deliverer. He marched with a large army into Phrygia, at that time under the power of the Romans, and conquered it. — He then halted a little for refreshment in the palaces that had been built there by Alexander, which he considered to be an omen of his future prosperity; and afterwards conquered many of the towns that were subject to the Romans: so that when they heard of these great exploits, (5125) they were much alarmed. Upon the death of the Roman general, Cornelius Sylla, Mithridates persuaded Tigran to attack Cappadocia. — He soon conquered it, and took thence about thirty thousand men, whom he settled in Armenia. He also removed the inhabitants of twelve Greek towns to Tigran-

kert. But Lucullus complained to his army, while on the march, of the perpetual defeats which they sustained from Tigran, and addressed them on the subject in a set speech, which is given verbatim by Plutarch, p. 415, and is to the following effect:—"Is there not a road from hence to Armenia of but a few days' journey, where the powerful Tigran, king of kings, dwells in peace; and who, by means of the Parthians, holds the whole of Asia Minor under his dominion, — converts Grecian towns into Median, — commands Assyria and Palestine, — and even oppresses the viceroy of the Seleucidæ, by snatching the wives and daughters of his people from the very throne," &c. &c. Lucullus himself was so much terrified at these defeats, and especially the soldiers, that they were in a manner constrained to mutiny and retreat from fear. In the mean time, Mithridates attacked them vigorously, and conquered one place after another; so that he gathered more and more strength daily.—When the Romans heard of the numerous victories gained by Tigran and Mithridates, they became greatly alarmed; and Cicero employed his eloquence to persuade the senate that they should change Lucullus, and send out Pompey in his stead. He assured them that, as Pompey was celebrated for his bravery, he would soon bring the war to a close, either by gaining the victory, or else by forming a truce. —Accordingly Pompey was sent out.

After Mithridates had distinguished himself by various

great exploits, he was at last brought to an untimely end through the malice of his sons, who obliged him to take poison. (5140.)—He first gave some of it to his wives and daughters, and then drank it himself. But as his soul delayed its flight on account of the strength of his bodily constitution, he killed himself with the assistance of his soldier, and with difficulty let go his powerful spirit in the year of the world 5140. Dion say. that "Mithridates, even when he was an old man, an venty years of age, was still as active and agile in ba s a man of thirty. The fame of his heroism was spread over the whole world, and when the Venetians heard of it (5137), they requested him by letter to come and conquer Italy likewise. But he returned for answer, that he would not attempt to march into Italy, until he had first secured his conquests in Asia."

Mithridates expired after a reign of fifty-six years.

5150. About this time the Parthian general, Sooren or Simbat, slew the great Roman general Crassus. He also destroyed an army of ninety thousand men under Lucanus, so that scarce ten thousand remained; and they with difficulty escaped to tell of their dreadful defeat.

5164. Arlavaazd I., son of Tigran II., reigned five years. By abandoning himself to indolence and dissipation, he excited the disgust of his army; and Anthony took him and his sons captive, and chained him in golden fetters.

5169. Arsham, brother of Tigran II. reigned twenty-nine years.

5198. Abgar, son of Arsham, reigned over Armenia in the town of Mitsbin. He was mild and good-hearted, and surpassed all his contemporaries in beauty and wisdom. On account of his extraordinary merit he was called by the Armenians "Avakair;" which signifies "The great man." But the Assyrians and Greeks not being able to pronounce that name correctly, changed it to Avagar, and then to Abgar. (5199.)—This name, like that of Cæsar, Augustus and Pharaoh, became the ordinary appellation of the kings of Edessa.

A. D. 1. In the second year of the reign of Abgar, a decree went out from Augustus to tax all the countries under his dominion. At this time our Saviour Jesus Christ, who is Lord over all nations, was born of the Virgin Mary, that he might save the people from their sins. A census was taken of the people, and the Armenians henceforth became tributary to the Romans.

6. Abgar, king of Armenia, paid a visit to Augustus Cæsar, who formed a close alliance with him of love and friendship. Augustus was astonished at the great beauty and wisdom of Abgar, and entertained him with great respect for three years. They thus became still more closely united in the bonds of friendship; and as Cæsar was always unwilling to part with Abgar, Procopius mentions that he invented the following expe-

dient. When Abgar went out with his people to hunt, he caught several wild goats, and having taken the earth of their respective soils, he ordered it to be brought into the theatre, and the different earths of various countries to be placed each in a separate heap. He then let the goats loose, each of which ran immediately and stood on the earth of its native soil. At this, all who were present in the theatre were astonished; and by this singular expedient alone, he pursuaded Cæsar to let him depart to his native country. Before his departure, Cæsar asked whether he wished to receive anything from him; but he answered that he desired nothing except permission to erect a theatre after the Roman fashion in his native country.

9. After his return to Armenia, he built a theatre in Mitsbin. He also erected many other buildings, and among the rest a castle, which he called Abgarashat.

21. A disagreement having taken place between the sons of Arshavir, Abgar collected an army and marched into Persia. He succeeded in reconciling the brothers, and proclaimed Artashes, who was the eldest of them, king of Persia.

34. The deputies of Abgar, having both heard of the miracles performed by Christ, and themselves been eye-witnesses of them in Jerusalem, came and gave information thereof to Abgar. When he heard of these miracles, his heart was strongly impressed with the conviction that Jesus must be the true Son of God. At that time

he laboured under a severe disease, which had afflicted him during seven years, and no one could heal it. But he waited in faith and hope for a cure from Christ, and not being able to go himself, he sent Anane in his stead as ambassador to the Saviour, with a letter to the following purport: — "Abgar, son of Arsham, and king of Armenia, wishes health to the beneficent Saviour Jesus, who has appeared in the country of Judea. I have heard of thee, and the cures wrought by thy hand; for it is said that thou restorest sight to the blind, causest the lame to walk, cleansest those afflicted with leprosy, castest out unclean spirits, and however long continued the disease under which a person may have laboured — thou healest it, and also raisest the dead to life. When I had heard all these things concerning thee, I concluded either that thou wert God himself come down from heaven, or else the Son of God. Therefore I have now written unto thee, beseeching thee to come and heal the disease by which I am afflicted. I have also heard that the Jews are rising against thee, and seeking to kill thee; but there is a small beautiful town here, which will suffice for us both," &c.

He sent gifts by the hand of his ambassadors to the Lord in the temple, and ordered a painter of the name of Ivaness to accompany them. Perhaps this Ivaness was in reality Anane himself; for it is said that he also was a painter. Abgar instructed these persons that if the Saviour would not vouchsafe to visit him, they

should at least take his likeness, in order that they might place it before him to heal him of his disease. The messengers arrived in Judea on the day of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Their desire to see Jesus, is mentioned by the holy Evangelist John, chap. xii. v. 20. "There were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast. The same came therefore to Philip which was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying, 'Sir, we would see Jesus.' Philip cometh and telleth Andrew, and again Andrew and Philip told Jesus. And Jesus answered them, saying, 'The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified.'" Truly the hour was come for praising the most glorious Son of God. That hour of universal joy was at hand, in which he would redeem the most holy bride by his blood, and attach himself, by his sufferings on the cross, to the holy virgin church. He longed for this time with inexpressible ardour, in which he intended to display his infinite love to mankind by the extension of his world-creating hands upon the cross.

Jesus Christ ordered the apostle Thomas to write an answer to Abgar, to the following effect:—"Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed. Those who see me will not believe in me; but many of those who do not see me, shall believe and live. You wish that I should go to you; but it behoves me to perform in this place all those things for the sake of which I have been sent to Jerusalem. When I have finished

them, then I shall ascend to Him that sent me. After my ascension, I shall send thee one of my disciples, who will heal thy disease, and bestow eternal life upon thee and those that are with thee." The painter aforementioned made many attempts, but without effect, to draw a correct likeness of our Saviour. But Jesus being willing to satisfy the desire of Abgar and of the painter, took a clean handkerchief, and applied it to his divine countenance. — In that same hour, by a miraculous power, his features and likeness were represented on the handkerchief. Hedren says that, "He affixed his seal to the corner of it in seven letters representing these words, 'A miracle performed by God.'" Jesus gave the handkerchief to the ambassadors of Abgar, that they might deliver it to him, along with the said letter. After the ascension of Christ, Thaddeus went to Edessa, according to our Saviour's command, and healed Abgar of his sickness. He also baptized him and the rest of the inhabitants, who all became true believers. Abgar placed the most holy image made without hands, with great veneration in a gilded case, and on the frame cut out these words: "He who trusts in the Lord shall not be disappointed." This first believing king ordered that the entrances to the idolatrous temples should be blocked up for ever, and that the idols, carved out on the walls and pillars, should be destroyed. He overturned the unclean statues of the Grecian deities which he found on the gates of Edessa, and put up the above-

mentioned image in their stead, for the adoration of the passers-by. He also built a magnificent church, and called it by a certain name, which signified, "The falling asleep of the mother of God." Being desirous to extend the religion of Christ, he addressed the Roman emperor Tiberius on the subject, by letter, advising him to revenge the death of Christ upon Pilate and the Jews; and, that he should himself believe in Christ. Tiberius returned an answer, that he was willing to believe; but that it was a common rule among the Romans, to acknowledge no one as a deity, until approved of by the senate. He even endeavoured to persuade Artashes, king of Persia, to adopt the Christian religion. Indeed, during the space of nearly forty years, he ceased not to exhort every one with as firm a faith as if he had himself been an Apostle of Christ. — After a reign of thirty-eight years, Abgar was transported to the eternal kingdom of the Prince of Heaven.

42. Helen, the first believing queen, and wife of Abgar, being animated by religion, was unwilling to live any longer among Pagans, after the death of her husband, and therefore changed her place of residence to Jerusalem. This took place in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, at the time of the great drought. Helen sent all her treasures to Egypt, by means of which she bought a great quantity of millet, and distributed it among the poor. After her death, she was buried at the door of the temple of Jerusalem.

45. Anane, son of Abgar, reigned four years.

53. Tirit the Arshakoonian, with the assistance of his brother Darius, defeated the Roman general Beatus, and dispersed the armed legions, who fled in confusion, leaving the standards and the baggage behind them on the field of battle. The historian Taakeed says, "that the Roman generals, Beatus and Corbulo, were so afflicted with shame and sorrow at the defeat of their armies, that when they met, they wept from grief, and could not salute each other." At last Corbulo besought Darius, king of Persia, by a suppliant letter, that he would permit his brother Tirit to go and receive from Nero the crown and government of Upper Armenia. Darius yielded to his petition, and sent Tirit to Rome. Nero paid him royal honour, and having bestowed on him the diadem and many presents, sent him back to Upper Armenia.

68. Eruand II. an Arshakoonian by the mother's side, reigned twenty years. He built the towns of Eruandashat, Eruandakert, and Bakaran.

88. Artashes II. son of Sanatrook, having returned from Persia with an army, unfurled his standards, representing an eagle, a dove, and the head of a dragon. He gave orders to blow the brazen trumpets, and he then fell haughtily upon Eruand, who was his enemy, and killed him. After this he undertook the government of Armenia, in which he founded a great number of schools, and established good order throughout the

whole empire. He also conquered the king of Alan, and took his beautiful daughter Satirik to wife. He put the Roman army with their king Trajan to flight: and after a reign of forty-one years he expired, and was magnificently buried.

129. Artavazd II. son of Artashes II. reigned two years.

131. Tiran I. son of Artashes II. reigned twenty-one years.

152. Tigran III. brother of Tiran I. reigned forty-two years.

194. Vagharsh, son of Tigran III. built a town on the spot where he was born, and called it Vagharshavan. He renewed a town of the name of Artimed, and called it Vagharshapat, or "New Town;" and that, not without the secret providence of God; for it became in truth a new town when the only begotten Son of God adorned it anew by his descent.

Note. — Though it had already existed for 1620 years, it afterwards became the chief town of all Armenia, the temple of God, and the abode of the only begotten Son of God: because that in it, in the plains of Ararat, was built the monastery of Etchmiatzin, the mother of the world and the glory of all Armenia!

Vagharsh was killed in battle, after a reign of twenty years.

214. Khosrov I. son of Vagharsh, seeking to revenge the death of his father, marched with a numerous army

against the people of Hazir and Bazil, and subdued them. He chose one out of every hundred, as a hostage, in order to secure the fidelity of the rest; and after erecting a monument in honour of his victory, he returned to Armenia. He defeated Adashir, king of Persia, pursued him as far as India, and conquered the whole of the Persian empire. He built the town of Tabriz, and built many houses in various other places. In the midst of these praiseworthy endeavours after improvement, he was villanously murdered by a certain Parthian, named Anak, in the forty-fifth year of his reign.

216. During the time of Khosrov, Abgar, son of Maanea, was king of Edessa. He professed the christian religion, and was a man of great sagacity. Dionysius, the historian, also mentions other twenty-six kings of Edessa.

281. Tridat, son of Khosrov I., even when at the court of Rome, astonished the people by his great bravery. In the career of heroism, he surpassed all his competitors, and excelled even Sampson and Hercules in strength. He displayed his prowess at Rome, by stopping, with one hand, the course of a chariot yoked with four horses, from which he pulled down his antagonist to the ground. (283.) He also seized two wild bulls, broke their horns, and completely fractured their skulls. — A particular account of these and his other brave exploits, is given by Agathangel. For these feats

of valour (286), Diocletian gave him the crown, and sent him with a considerable force into Armenia. When the chiefs and grandees of Armenia were informed of his approach, they went out to meet him with great joy and acclamation. (288.) With these nobles, Tridat entered Armenia, and retook all the towns which had been conquered by the Persians, Assyrians, and others. Shapoor, king of Persia, gathered an army, and was so daring as to attack him; but Tridat fearlessly repelled force by force, and put his troops to flight. He slew great numbers of the Persian army, and destroyed a herd of elephants.

Tridat now took to wife the daughter of Ashkarad, king of Alan, who was not inferior in beauty to Tridat himself. When she was presented to him, he ordered that she should be written in as an Arshakoonian. She was then dressed for the nuptials in purple robes, and adorned with a diadem: and after their marriage, Tridat proclaimed her queen of all Armenia. To them was born a son, called Khosrov the Less.

Tridat caused St. Gregory, after he had been tormented in various ways, to be cast into a deep ditch, filled with ferocious serpents, and with all kinds of reptiles. St. Gregory continued in it for fifteen years. At this time (300), the holy daughter of heaven, and most unblemished virgin, Ripsim, arrived in the land of Ararat, with thirty-seven other virgins and their attendants, who all suffered martyrdom from Tridat. For

these crimes, the king and his nobles were punished by the judgments of God. (301.) But at last an angel appeared to the holy virgin Khosrovidokht, the sister of Tridat, and ordered that St. Gregory should be taken out of the ditch, in which he had now been fifteen years. During this period, he was indebted for sustenance to a certain pious widow, who was influenced by Providence to let down for him into the ditch a piece of bread each day. In conformity with the abovementioned order, St. Gregory was immediately taken out of the ditch, and when he had offered up a prayer, the king, and all the others who had been punished along with him, were delivered by the grace of God from their incurable diseases.

The Armenians, to the number of four millions, were now for the first time baptized, and converted to the knowledge of the true God, and of the christian faith: the darkness of idolatry was dispersed, and a magnificent church erected; namely, the holy monastery of Etchmiatzin,* on which St. Gregory erected the sign of the

* The monastery of Etchmiatzin exists even at the present day. I had occasion to travel in Georgia and Armenia towards the latter end of last year (1832), and availed myself of the opportunity to visit this very ancient monastery. It is situated about four hours' ride to the west of Erivan, and commands an excellent view of Mount Ararat. The monastery is surrounded by a strong high wall, in the form of a square, and a part of the building is appropriated to the reception and accommodation of strangers. It is the ordinary place of residence of the patriarch or head of the Armenian clergy, and contains about thirty monks. It has

cross. (303.) The number of believers so increased, that St. Gregory ordained no less than four hundred of those who had formerly been heathen priests, to be bishops, and also a great number of ecclesiastics. Agathangel* says that "King Tridat requested St. Gregory to remain with him, that they might preach the gospel of Christ together; but he would not consent; and in order to avoid human esteem, retired to the wilderness. Here he led so holy a life, that during the space of forty days and forty nights he eat bread only once; and he persevered in this course until the day of his death." Regarding the devotedness of Tridat, and his love to God, Agathangel further adds that "the pious Tridat served Christ with the deepest devotion to the religion of his

also a school for about the same number of boys, who are educated for monastic orders. Their education, I found, was conducted by an Armenian deacon, of the name of Mesrop David, who spoke the English language fluently. He had acquired a knowledge of the English at Bishop's College in Calcutta, into which he said he was admitted at the recommendation of the late Bishop Heber. When he had finished his education in the college, he returned to his native country of Ararat, with the patriotic design of endeavouring to effect some improvement in the education of his fellow-countrymen.—TRANSLATOR.

* Agathangel flourished in the beginning of the fourth century. He was secretary to Tridat, king of Armenia, and wrote the history of his own times. He is very diffuse in his accounts of the pagan temples and idols, and of the heathen deities. He also enlarges much on the introduction and (subsequent ?) decline of the Christian religion in Armenia. This composition was first printed at Constantinople in the year 1709, in one quarto volume of 428 pages. There are translations of it in the Greek and Latin languages, but exceedingly incorrect.

disciples. The fame of the great piety of Tridat reached the subordinate Prince Migran, king of the Georgians, and by the exhortations of the holy virgin Noonia, a co-labourer of Ripsim, he and all his people were induced to adopt the christian religion, and sent to inquire of St. Gregory what rules to observe for the newly baptized Georgians. He ordered them to demolish their idol Oromazd, and to elevate the sign of the cross in its stead. The Georgians laughed, and said that their groves were filled with this wood. But suddenly there appeared in the air a brilliant light, representing a cross, surrounded by twelve stars, which gave forth a heavenly odour: when the people beheld this, they all believed, and worshipped with bended knees. After this, St. Gregory sent the requisite number of bishops and priests, who should preach to them the knowledge of the true God."

Tridat signalized himself by his many great exploits, in which he surpassed even Hercules and other heroes; and thus plaited for himself an unfading crown of glory in the life to come. He expired in the eighty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-six years.

340. It is attested by fifteen historians, and particularly by Theodoros and Theophanes, that at this period, the holy patriarch, James of Mitsbin, cousin of St. Gregory, was desirous to settle the disputes of the heathens, who did not believe in the universal deluge, nor that the Ark of Noah rested on Mount

Ararat: and, therefore, he attempted, with great labour and fervent zeal, to reach the top of the mountain with his ecclesiastics, that he might obtain a piece of the Ark to convince them. James and his attendants several times reached the middle of the mountain; but when they looked up, they seemed to be no nearer the top than when they began the ascent.* In this manner they spent ten days without either eating or drinking, and were at last so exhausted by thirst, that they earnestly entreated the patriarch for a supply of water. He fell upon his knees, and after he had offered up a prayer, and prostrated himself three times upon the ground, a fountain of water broke out on the spot, and relieved their thirst. The fountain exists even to this day and performs miracles. The patriarch now heard the voice of an angel exclaiming "James! James!" He answered, "I am here, Lord!" The angel said, "Arise! take this piece of wood which is beside thee, and hasten back, for thou canst not go beyond this place; because the road is blocked up." The patriarch hastened to Armenia with the piece of wood, by means of which he performed miracles, such as raising the dead to life, healing decayed limbs, walking on the water as if upon dry land, &c.

* Many of the Armenians continue to this day to think that the summit of Mount Ararat is inaccessible; but Mr. Barrot, a German traveller, succeeded some years ago in reaching the top of that mountain, in company with an Armenian vardapet or deacon.—TRANSLATOR.

344. Khosrov II. son of Tridat, reigned nine years.

353. Tiran II. son of Khosrov II. reigned sixteen years.

361. The blessed voivode, and most fortunate of grandees, namely, St. Sergius, saw a vision in the reign of the wicked Julian, in which he was commanded by God to remove to Armenia. In consequence of this, he distributed his goods among the poor, and set off with his son Martiross, to Tiran II. king of Armenia.

362. Tiran received them both with great respect, but being afraid of Julian, he sent them to Shapoor, king of Persia, who appointed St. Sergius to be his commander-in-chief against Julian himself. But the celebrated St. Sergius preached the religion of the true God before King Shapoor, with destruction to the idols and lying gods of the Persians. For this action, he and his son received the fate of martyrdom, which they suffered with a heroical spirit to the glory of Christ; and thus rendered famous the latter part of their days.

363. Arshak II. son of Tiran II. reigned eighteen years.

Varazdat succeeded to the throne of Armenia. Moses of Khoren narrates concerning him, that "he was bold even from his infancy; and when he arrived at the years of maturity, he was brave and strong, and very skilful in the use of the bow. At the court of Cæsar, he displayed his prowess in various single combats. He slew five combatants, killed several lions, and pulled down seven-

teen warriors from a wall as if he had been tearing fruit off a tree."

The country of Armenia being greatly molested by robbers, Varazdat set out in pursuit of them. They immediately took to flight, and when they had crossed the river Euphrates, destroyed the bridge over which they had passed, that he might not be able to follow them. But Varazdat swam over with amazing speed to the other side of the Euphrates, which, in that place, was twenty-two paces broad. The robbers were so terrified at this action, that they threw down their swords and surrendered. He distinguished himself by many other great exploits during a reign of four years; but was killed by Theodosius Cæsar.

Arshak III. son of Pap, reigned five years.

Vagharshak II. son of Pap, reigned one year.

388. Khosrov III. reigned five years.

392. Vramshapooh, brother of Khosrov, succeeded to the government of Armenia. He was mild and magnanimous, and in his government was a lover of peace. In the fifteenth year of the reign of this industrious king, in the twelfth of Arcadius Cæsar, and eighth of Azkert, king of Persia, *i. e.* in the year of our Lord 406, Mesrop witnessed a vision by the power of the Holy Spirit, in which he saw a right hand holding a pen, and marking out the letters of the Armenian alphabet on a hard stone. Mesrop also invented the

Georgian characters. Vramshapooh died in the twenty-first year of his reign.

420. Vartan I., son of Hamazasp, was made a general in the year 420, by Theodosius Cæsar. He was also appointed by Vram, king of Persia, to be general of Armenia, and chief of the family of Mamikon. Azkert, the next king of Persia, confirmed him in these dignities; and, moreover, created him viceroy of the whole empire. This Vartan, in the presence of Azkert, and before a numerous assembly of Persian elders, openly proclaimed the divinity of Christ, and, with evident indignation, expressed his contempt of their deceitful dogmas. The nobles of Armenia had yielded to these errors in order to please King Azkert; but St. Vartan, like a firm defender of the faith, rebuked them for their errors with acrimony. At last, when he perceived the reproach which the hypocrisy of Vasak and others occasioned to religion, and more especially, when he saw the universal decline of religion itself, he gathered all that he had, and removed to Greece, with the intention of leaving Armenia for ever. The nobles were thrown into disorder on seeing the danger which threatened the empire, and Vasak also became alarmed for his own safety. They therefore agreed unanimously, that Vartan, the firm defender of the faith, should be recalled, and that if their invitations were rejected, they should even go for him themselves. A letter of entreaty

was accordingly drawn up, containing a promise sworn to on the four gospels, that if he would only return, they would submit themselves to his authority, and join him for the purpose of expelling the armies of Persia out of Armenia. They sent this letter by the hands of Levond, the priest, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to make haste, and save the empire, by his return, from the errors imposed on it by the heathens. St. Vartan spared not his own life, but preferred to suffer death rather than that either his country or the holy church should receive damage: and, therefore, he came freely forward to death after the example of our Lord and Saviour, who shed his own blood for the deliverance of many. At his return, all the nobles, and also the common people, joined with one consent, and went out along with Vasak to meet him, and receive him with due respect. Being again proclaimed commander-in-chief of all Armenia, St. Vartan, with the consent of the patriarchs and nobles (430), sent an embassy, under the direction of a man named Adoin, to Theodosius Cæsar, requesting assistance, on the strength of an alliance of friendship formerly concluded by the Romans with Tridat, and which Theodosius would have fulfilled, had not his death occurred that same year to prevent it. But his viceroy, the wicked Martian, slighted the promise of Theodosius; for he violated the sanctity of treaties, and, contrary to the laws of nations, took those ambassadors of peace, and delivered them up to Azkert, encouraging

him also in his malicious designs of infringing upon the church.

The great Vartan now set about destroying the idolatrous temples of the apostates. He gave up the detestable Vaud to be burned in Atroshan, and ordered his son Shero to be hanged on a tree. He drove all the magicians and the heathen priests out of the empire, and abolished idolatry almost entirely. Some of the magicians fled and took shelter in an impregnable fortress; but its strong walls immediately gave way at the word of St. Vartan, and when he made the sign of the cross, they fell without any one touching them. This struck such terror into the people, that they began of their own accord to demolish their idols, and abandoned the lying interpretation of the magicians. St. Vartan now gave orders to the clergy to erect a church, and dispense the holy sacrament to all, after which he joined battle against Mooshkan, the wicked general of Azkert. But, though the blessed Vartan fought with great bravery, and killed great numbers of the enemy, he fell in this battle along with the rest of his fellow-labourers; and thus his distinguished exploits were brought to an end in the year 451.—Vartan reigned thirty-one years in all, and was transported to the eternal mansions of joy. He and his companions, to the number of one thousand and thirty-six individuals, received the fate of martyrdom; and their names are marked in the Book of Life of the King of Heaven.

422. Artashes III., son of Vramshapooh, reigned six years.

482. Vahan the Great, son of Humayeak, the brother of the great Vartan, gathered such of the Armenian chiefs as professed the same religion with himself, and rose against the Persian general Atervishanasp, and against the apostate Armenians who had joined him. With the assistance of Isaac the Bagratoonian, and three hundred christians, he defeated and dispersed seven thousand men. Vahan, being proclaimed by the Armenians to be their commander-in-chief, succeeded, with the assistance of his chiefs, in defeating the army of Phirooz, king of Persia; at which Phirooz was so much grieved, that in order to avenge himself, he caused Vard, the brother of Vahan, to be put in chains. But, by the will of God, he was delivered miraculously from chains without any one touching him, and returned to Armenia, to his brother Vahan.

Vahan the Great, with only thirty of his brave comrades, fought against an army of five thousand men, commanded by the Persian general Sepooh, which he defeated and dispersed like a herd of cows. The historian Lazar Pharbetsi* takes notice of this transaction, and even

* Lazar Pharbetsi flourished in the fifth century. He wrote a history of the events which took place during the space of ninety-seven years, namely, from the year 388 to 485. He is very careful to preserve exactness in his statements, and to leave nothing out that may serve to gratify the reader. Though his language is not high, yet it is pleasant and agreeable. A beauti-

Sepooh himself, the Persian general, gives an account of this transaction, which occurred in the reign of Vagharsh, brother of Pheerooz, and says, " They were indeed brave men; but it is difficult to explain, and almost incredible, that so small a number of men should have risen against a large army. I cannot but regard the transaction as new and supernatural; and no one that hears of it will believe, that thirty men had the boldness to attack three thousand men, and far less, that they did so with success. But the truth is, that, like dexterous mowers, who mow the hay with a sharp scythe, and gather it into a single heap; these Vahani attacked us, great as our numbers were, and fought so dexterously, that they destroyed nearly the whole corps, killing even the terrible Gdeehon, chief of the Súni. I imagined that Gdeehon alone, with about ten men, might have annihilated them; whereas many of the soldiers whom they killed were among the most celebrated in Persia, and would by no means turn their backs. But hardly any one dared to look at them; for they seemed to us to be gods, and not men."

484. After the defeat of Sepooh, and the death of the apostate Gdeehon, Vahan returned to the province of Ararat, to the town of Vagharshapat, and having entered the holy church of Etchmiatzin, offered up thanks

ful edition of this work was printed in one volume octavo, in the year 1793, under the care and inspection of the Armenian monks in the monastery of St. Lazaro, near Venice.

to God. He then immediately set about re-establishing the church of God. He rode through all the different towns, destroyed the idolatrous temples, and caused churches to be built in their stead. Lazar Pharbetsi says, "He introduced innumerable improvements throughout the whole of Armenia, and by his exhortations induced others to adopt the like measures. And thus, having distinguished himself by his virtue and bravery, more especially having been the deliverer of the empire, the adorner of the church of God, the saviour of the people, and the benefactor of Armenia, he was transported to life eternal, after an eventful reign of thirty years. (510.) May his memory be blessed for ever!"

518. Mzhezh, the Knoonian, governed Armenia as viceroy for thirty years.

539. In the reign of the Emperor Justinian, the city of Edessa was besieged by Khosrov, king of Persia; but being informed that the city must of necessity remain unhurt, because it had received a blessing from Christ the Saviour, and could not be conquered by its enemies; he was much grieved, and set about contriving various methods to destroy the wall. But the affrighted inhabitants turned to God for help. That same night there appeared to Bishop Evghagh, a certain beautiful woman, who stated that, under the town gate, was an image of Christ the Saviour, suspended on the wall. "Take it," said the woman, "from that place, for by it you shall obtain deliverance." On removing the wall,

the bishop actually found the image, and beside it was a lamp, that had continued burning since the time of Addeus the patriarch, a space of 505 years! The bishop received this image with joy, and hastened with it to the very place where the unbelievers had already dug under the walls, below which they were in the act of placing fires. He let fall a drop of the oil that burned in the lamp upon the enemy's fire, and in a moment, the flame burst forth, spread itself in all directions, and consumed the enemy who endeavoured in vain to reach the christians. By these and the like miracles, the enemy suffered great damage, and were at last forced to take refuge in flight. Khosrov was desirous to repay himself for this loss, and, therefore, made an attack upon the city of Sergiopolis, where the relics of the invincible warrior, St. Sergius, were deposited. He plundered all the church treasures and ornaments, among the number of which there was a golden cross, set with precious stones, brought as an offering to the church by the Emperor Justinian, and the Empress Theodora. Not satisfied even with this, Khosrov presumed to touch the relics of St. Sergius, which were kept in a silver casket. But at the very moment when his soldiers were about to despoil these precious gifts, they were seized with a sudden panic; for they saw an innumerable company of armed knights upon the walls. The affrighted Khosrov exclaimed, that these were miracles performed by the invincible bishop of God, St.

Sergius: and, after he had extolled the christian religion, he made his retreat, and did not dare to take anything.

550. Nerses the Haikan, king of the Kotatsi. The historians Procopius, Azapt, Evagarus, Theophanes, and others, narrate concerning him, that he distinguished himself in Greece, and in the country of Italy, by the superiority and excellence of his intellect, the rare qualities of his soul, his strict fidelity, indefatigable industry, invincible patience, uncommon strength, and noble appearance; and by his other endowments of nature and of virtue. He gained the respect of the nobles, and more especially of the Emperor Justinian, by whom he was appointed chief treasurer of the empire, and was made a senator. In these offices he gave great satisfaction. Justinian also made him commander-in-chief of the army, in which capacity he performed many great actions. He obtained the victory over all his enemies both in Italy and other places; so that he acquired for himself the appellation of "the brave." He continued to reside in Rome until the day of his death, which took place in the year 572. Anastasius says that, "so long as he remained in Italy, it was full of joy and pleasure. He was loved by all, and especially by the Pope of Rome, who prized him as a precious eye." We are told by Evagarus that, "he was always very zealous in the paying of honour and adoration to the most holy mother of God; so that he never

commenced a battle with any one until he was assured of the holy mother's consent."

Vartan II., son of Vasak, reigned seven years.

580. Morik, or Mauriticus the Haikan, general of the Eastern regiment of the Greek Emperor Tiberius, was a native of the village of Hoshakan, in the province of Ararat. He defeated the Persians with great slaughter, took from them several towns, and expelled them out of Armenia the Less. The Emperor Tiberius wished to reward Morik for his great bravery, by conferring on him the distinction which he merited; and, therefore, made him his son-in-law. Moreover, when he considered the superior intellect of Morik, and especially the success that he met with in all his undertakings, he was induced at his death, which happened that same year, to deliver up to him the whole Grecian empire. After ascending the imperial throne, Morik distinguished himself by his bravery and other virtues more than ever; and thus proved that he was well worthy of that high dignity. It is said that he sent some trustworthy persons to his aged father, who resided in the village of Hoshakan, to invite him to come and share in his honours; but he requested, in case he was unwilling to come, that he would at least supply him with a few useful maxims. When the messengers arrived, they found the old man labouring in his garden; and when they revealed to him the proposal of the emperor, he

answered, "It does not become me to plume myself on being the father of a king." After he had made this remark, he began to pull up the largest of the cabbages by the roots, break them, and afterwards scatter the leaves upon the ground. On the other hand, he paid particular attention to such of the cabbages as were only beginning to grow, by watering them, &c. The ambassadors concluded that the old man was insane, and, on their return to the emperor, narrated to him the whole circumstances. But he penetrated the hidden meaning of his father, smiled, and said nothing. He soon after put his father's instructions into practice, by discharging all persons of rank from office, and choosing others to fill their places from the lower classes of the people. He made many other wise regulations, and, by his superior wisdom and bravery, succeeded in establishing peace throughout Greece and Armenia; so that it afterwards became a proverb among the Armenians to say, "You sit as free from care as in the days of Morik." (591.) By means of his generals, Nerses and Mooshegh, Morik replaced Khosrov II. on the throne of Persia; and Khosrov bestowed on Morik the towns of Dar and Mitsbin, as a mark of his gratitude. But at last a Grecian general, of the name of Pallas, turned traitor, and aspired to the throne. He excited the Roman army against the Emperor Morik, and barbarously put him to death, after strangling five of his sons before his eyes.—Morik reigned twenty years.

620. Mzhezh, the Knoonian, was appointed to be general of Armenia by the Emperor Heraclius, in the year 620. He is taken notice of by Theophanes, St. Nicephorus, Anastasius, Hedren, Zonar, and others, who state that he was a grandson of Mzhet the viceroy, and a brave, handsome man. In an expedition against Khosrov, king of Persia, he destroyed the town of Tabriz, and put to flight the army of the Persian commander-in-chief, Khoudav (667), whom he took prisoner, and presented along with other five men of rank to Heraclius. After the death of Heraclius, the Greeks unanimously proclaimed Mzhezh to be their king, on account of his eminent bravery and other laudable qualities, and exclaimed, "Long live our Emperor!" They also put Heraclius' grandson to death in a bath. For an account of these transactions, see Theophanes, Anastasius, and Zonar. But, as soon as Constantine heard of this shameful event, he raised a numerous army, and marched against Mzhezh, whom he put to death, along with the other conspirators.

685. Ashot, the son of Búrat, reigned four years.

690. Nerseh III. governed Armenia as pro-consul six years.

Simbat VII. governed Armenia as commander-in-chief nine years. He was then laid hold of by Abdullah,* sovereign of the Ishmaelites, and sent in chains,

* Abdullah was Khalif at Medina from the year 683 to the year 694.

along with the Patriarch Isaac, to Damascus. The High Priest John, Archimandrite Stephen, and others, tell us that this holy man, Isaac, sent messengers to Mohammed,* requesting permission to visit him, which was granted. But in the mean time he was taken ill and died. Before his death, he wrote a persuasive letter with his own hand to Mohammed, which was to the following effect:—"This letter is written by the hand of me, the Armenian Patriarch Isaac, to thee, O Mohammed! commander-in-chief. I was deputed to thee by our people; but the Guardian of souls now requires my spirit to go to him, so that I cannot see thy face, &c." Isaac continued to hold this letter in his hand even after death, having ordered his archdeacons to let it remain so, in order that Mohammed, when he should come and read the letter himself, might have compassion on them. When Mohammed received the news of his death, he said, "Had he been alive, he would have come to me; but since he is dead, I must go to him." He also gave orders that the body should not be buried until he arrived. When Mohammed entered the place where the body lay, he said in his own dialect, "Salám Aleikum!" The holy patriarch returned the salute with a wave of his hand, as if he were

* I have not been able to ascertain which Mohammed this is to whom the author refers; but it certainly cannot be the false prophet himself, because that famous imposter died in the year of our Lord 632.—TRANSLATOR.

alive, and delivered to him the letter. At this he was greatly astonished; and when he had read over the petition, he answered, "This thy request is already granted, O thou honoured man of God!" Therefore he wrote a paper immediately for the perpetual liberty of our people; and ordered the corpse to be carried to Armenia under an escort, and consigned to the earth. Mohammed returned to his own country; and, by his persuasion, the sovereign of the Ishmaelites set all the Armenian captives at liberty. With regard to this occurrence, the High Priest John remarks, that "God had thus rendered Isaac's death more useful than his life."

711. Philipicus the Haikan, son of Vartan emperor of Greece, brought Armenia the fourth time under the power of the Greeks, and transported thither many of the Armenians from other provinces.

741. Artavazd the Haikan became son-in-law of the Emperor Leo; he attained to that dignity by the services which he had rendered Leo. Theophanes, Hedren, Zonar, and others, say that Artavazd was brave, strong, majestic, zealous for the faith, and so forth; on which account the Grecian noblemen were much attached to him, and the Patriarch Anastasius put the crown upon his head, and consecrated him to be emperor. Artavazd was soon afterwards killed by Kopronimus.

760. Sahak, the Bagratoonian, reigned ten years.

856. Ashot I., son of Simbat, was an illustrious character, and the first person of Bagratoonian origin that

became king of Armenia. The High Priest John* says, that "he was a man of remarkable piety, great wisdom, and extraordinary bravery." He furthermore adds, that "his stature was above the common, his eyesight acute, and his face manly and attractive. He was exceedingly prudent and agreeable in conversation, and very cautious against excess in his meat and drink. Like a true father of his subjects, he was equally gracious and condescending to all of them; and, whether rich or poor, they received from him the same justice and condescension. In short, whatever was calculated to render his subjects happy, was an object of his care. He preserved a remarkable consistency in his mode of life, and would never tolerate either luxury or useless pomp; so that he took no part in the vain pursuits of this world."

859. The rumour of Ashot's great exploits, and the happy condition of his subjects, having reached the ears of Ahmed, sovereign of the Ishmaelites, it had the effect of appeasing his furious and brutal temper, and he was constrained to conduct himself with a greater regard to

* John the High Priest, patriarch of the Armenians, flourished between the ninth and tenth centuries. He wrote a history of Armenia from the time of Haik to the year of our Lord 920. In this history the greatest care is taken to preserve order and exactness, and it is written in language which is at once eloquent and persuasive. Among the Armenians, it holds the same place that the history of Titus Livius did among the Romans; and it serves as a model in the art of rhetoric.

conscience than formerly, and with more magnanimity. Ahmed had therefore a strong desire to give honour to Ashot, and sent him many presents by the hand of one of his nobles. He also gave him a richly ornamented robe, and appointed him to be commander-in-chief over all Armenia, empowering him to collect the tribute and manage the revenue and disbursements of the empire. But the Patriarch George, and all the chiefs and nobles, when they saw that Ashot possessed so many good qualities, came to the unanimous resolution of petitioning the supreme sovereign, Ahmed, to crown him as king of Armenia; and he, being already well acquainted with the wisdom of Ashot, and having himself been long desirous to elevate him, graciously condescended to the petition of the Armenians, and, by the hand of one of his nobles, sent to Ashot the regal crown, and the other ornaments and badges of royalty.

Ashot accepted the crown, and put it upon his head. At a triumphal assembly of the grandees in the cathedral of Ani the capital, Ashot was anointed king of Armenia by the Patriarch George, in the year 880. After acquiring this new dignity, he set about the administration of his empire, by organising his army, over which he appointed his brother, the worthy Abbas, to be commander-in chief. William, the emperor of Constantinople (865), sent Niketass with a number of presents to Ashot the Great, requesting that he would give him an imperial crown. He complied with his desire, and

sent him a magnificently ornamented crown, with which William was crowned a second time, in honour of Ashot. William continued to show great attachment both to him and the whole Armenian nation, and afterwards renewed the bond of love and friendship by a special embassy.

885. Under the protection of the two powers above mentioned, (viz. that of Ahmed and William,) and by the assistance of Almighty God, Ashot made great improvements in the empire, and brought it into a flourishing condition.

But he never trespassed on the rules of humanity in the prosecution of his undertakings, so as to occasion anything disagreeable either to his own people or to foreigners.

Ashot fell into a disease, during which he distributed alms very freely. When he had partaken of the holy sacrament, he expired, in the seventy-first year of his age. He ruled as a prince twenty-six years, and reigned in the quality of king five years.

812. William I., the emperor, was of Arshakoonian extraction. Even from the day of his birth there occurred several very singular prognostics, indicative of his future greatness.

1. William and his parents were the only persons that escaped of the multitudes killed by Motraz, king of Bulgaria.

2. An eagle on its flight covered the infant William,

when asleep, with its shadow, and continued to do so though it was driven away three different times. This circumstance is mentioned in the writings of the Emperor Constantine, grandson of this William.

3. William's mother had a vision, in which she saw a tree that proceeded from her, and grew to a great height. It was loaded with fruit and with flowers, and the roots and branches of the tree were of pure gold.

4. William's mother had a second vision, in which she saw an old man, from whose mouth proceeded fire, and he said that God had fore-ordained her son William to sway the imperial sceptre.

5. It happened, when William was resting under the roof of the monastery of St. Diomedes, that the saint appeared in a dream three several times to the father of the monastery, and ordered that the child should be called William, and that he should be educated with care; "Because," said he, "he is predestined to ascend the imperial throne, and will also rebuild this monastery." This prediction was afterwards actually fulfilled.

William was admired by the Emperor Leo for his sagacity and handsome appearance, especially for his moral conduct; so that he became his favourite, and was rewarded by him.

There was a certain athletic Bulgarian, a giant of a dreadful aspect, and very brave and fierce, who was thought to be invincible. But William struck him down with one blow, to the astonishment of the by-

standers, and others who heard of it. He overtook and caught the capricious horse of the Emperor Michael, which nobody else dared to approach, and having mounted it, he returned to the emperor. The emperor gave him all the ornaments and trappings of the horse as a reward for his dexterity; and he became a great favourite. The Emperor Michael, wishing to promote the happiness of William, appointed him to be chief magistrate; and, in the year 866, adopted him as his son in the church of St. Sophia. He also put a crown upon his head, and constituted him his assistant in the affairs of government. But Michael now fell into habits of luxury and dissipation, and incurred the displeasure of the Grecian nobility, who forced their way into his apartment during the night, and put him to death. Early in the morning they unanimously proclaimed William to be emperor (867), and placed him on the imperial throne. At this the whole nation rejoiced, because the virtuous qualities of William were already well known. By his judicious management he corrected the disorders of the Grecian empire, and brought it into a flourishing condition. William requested a crown from Ashot, in exchange for one which he sent to him, along with other gifts. He had four sons, whom he educated in the fear of God. He called the first-born Constantine, and afterwards chose him for his assistant on the throne. He called the second Leo—the same who was styled "the Wise." He called the third Alex-

ander, and the fourth Stephen. This last son, in course of time, became a patriarch. William had also four daughters, whom he consecrated in a convent. He was transported to eternal life in the year 885, and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Leo the Wise.

885. Leo VI., the Wise, became emperor after the death of his father, William. He showed the same attachment that his father had done, both to King Ashot and to all the Armenians. When Ashot visited him in Constantinople, they mutually did each other honour; and, at the request of the Emperor Leo, Ashot left his commander-in-chief Megrik behind, in order to render him assistance in his wars. Megrik fought with great bravery against the Bulgarians, and thus merited the respect of the emperor, who displayed his gratitude to Ashot (893), by renewing a treaty of peace with Simbat, his son and successor, and by sending him valuable presents. In an affectionate epistle, Leo called Simbat "his beloved son," and continued to send him gifts every year. He was also preparing to assist Simbat against Yousuf; but his life was cut short in the year 911, before he could accomplish his friendly design.

892. Simbat I., son of Ashot the Great, ascended the throne at the request of the Patriarch George, and also received a crown from the supreme sovereign of the Ishmaelites, who sent him a dress interwoven with gold, besides arms and horses; and entrusted him with the government of Armenia and Georgia. Simbat renewed

the treaty of peace which had formerly existed with Leo, and received from him a belt garnished with precious stones and a cup made of gold. He also extended the empire into other countries; so that the fame of his arms reached even remote nations, and put them in terror. He defeated a large army commanded by Apshen (899), and put the crown upon the head of his relation Aternerseh, making him king of the Georgians, and second after himself. Instead of being grateful for this kindness, Aternerseh entered into a conspiracy against Simbat's life. But when Simbat discovered his criminal design, he magnanimously pardoned the guilty, and did not inflict that punishment upon them which they deserved. After he had distinguished himself by his many victories, and by his great bravery, he at last fell a victim to the malice and treachery of his relations, and laid down his life for the flock, receiving the fate of martyrdom from the infidel outcast Yousuf. He finished his course in the year 914, in the forty-fourth year of his reign.—May his memory be blessed for ever! God glorified his death by miracles, so that the ground on which he suffered martyrdom served to heal diseases, to the glory of Christ. The High Priest John affirms, that "not only christians, but even the unbelievers acknowledged the truth of these miracles, and were baptized on the spot."

911. Constantine II., emperor of Constantinople, succeeded to the throne in the year 911, when he was only

seven years of age. But his uncle Alexander managed the affairs of government during his minority, in conjunction with his father-in-law, Robert. This Constantine is usually designated by the appellation of Perperoozhen, which signifies, "wearer of royal robes;" and is the same who wrote a history, being the son of Leo, the son of William. He sent an embassy under one named Theodorus, to King Ashot the Iron, inviting him to come to Constantinople. When Ashot arrived, Constantine put a crown upon his head, and adorned him with the other badges of royalty. He was also very liberal to the Armenian nobles, and loved them exceedingly. He died in the year 945.

914. Ashot II. the Iron, son of Simbat I., having received the lamentable intelligence that his father had suffered martyrdom, was much grieved, and fell into a melancholy state. At last his courage was roused, fury succeeded to his melancholy, and he wished rather to die than suffer infamy. Therefore, with the assistance of his brother Abbas, and a small number of chosen troops, he made furious inroads into the territories of his enemies. He first of all attacked the town of Parkevant, and slew a multitude of the army of Yousuf. He then put certain of the nobles to the torture, and afterwards caused them to be suspended on the wall. He also attacked Shirak, and many other towns, all of which he destroyed. When the Armenians, and Loorgen the Afghan prince, and Aternerseh, king of Georgia, saw such bravery on

the part of Ashot, and his numerous victories, they unanimously agreed to place him on the throne of his father, which they did in the year 915; and thus Ashot became an independent monarch. But he had not one single hour of peace, on account of the perpetual discord of his chiefs and the treachery of his own relations. Moreover, he was continually suffering defeats from Yousuf and the other Persian viceroys. At last he had recourse to the sign of the blessed cross, by virtue of which he defeated all his enemies, and completely routed them. He paid a visit to Constantinople at the invitation of the Emperor Constantine (920), and received from him a crown and many precious gifts. After his return to Armenia, he attacked four thousand armed robbers with only two hundred of his brave men, and put them to the rout. Mookhtedir, sovereign of the Ishmaelites, formed a treaty of peace with Ashot, and honoured him with the title of Shahinshah, or king of kings; because he was superior to the preceding kings of Armenia. Ashot was called "the Iron," on account of his great bravery, and because he had an iron staff with a head shaped like a crown. The anxiety and fatigue which he suffered during these continual wars sunk him at last into a state of debility, and he was transported to life eternal in the year 928, after a reign of fourteen years and six months.

923. George, of Marspatoonian origin, a great and victorious prince, arose about this time to protect the father-

less Armenia. With twenty brave comrades, faithful sons of their country, he defeated the army of Pshor, which consisted of a thousand chosen men. Trusting entirely in the almighty right arm of God, he made a sudden attack upon them in a certain plain, and threw the army into a great disorder. He took advantage of their confusion to slay great numbers of them, and then put Pshor himself, and the remainder of his army, to a shameful flight. In a second attack, Pshor sustained the same loss as before; whereas only three of George's comrades were slain. Not satisfied with these defeats, Pshor attempted again to try his fortune, and surrounded the fortress of Ketshago with a numerous army. But George and his brave comrades sallied out of the fortress, and rushed forth impetuously as on eagles' wings against the enemies of their country, of whom they made a furious slaughter; and George, having reached Pshor himself, fetched a mortal blow at that haughty adventurer, and levelled him dead at his feet.

928. Abbas I., brother of Ashot the Iron, reigned in Kars, with the assistance of the brave prince George, and distinguished himself by his brave exploits and good administration. He died in the year 951, after a praiseworthy reign of twenty-three years.

961. Ashot III., son of Abbas, after the death of his father, collected a body of heroes, and expelled his enemies out of the country. He appointed Kor, the son of Prince George, to be his general, and entirely subdued

the rebels. In this manner Ashot ruled nine years. But when the chiefs perceived his incomparable bravery, and especially his excellent dispositions, they sent ambassadors to Philip, king of Aghoovan, and to the Patriarch Joseph, inviting them to come and crown Ashot as king of Armenia. When these persons arrived, all the nobles and chiefs of Armenia, besides forty bishops, assembled in the capital town of Ani, and anointed Ashot to be king, in the year of our Lord 961; so that the throne of the kingdom of Armenia was again established. Ashot made a furious slaughter in the army of Amatoon, and caught him, and deprived him of life. For this service, the supreme sovereign of the Ishmaelites, whom Amatoon had formerly deceived, sent many gifts to Ashot. He also crowned him a second time, and proclaimed him king of Armenia. Ashot built several magnificent churches in the capital town of Ani, and also in other places. Moreover, he repaired the lower wall of Ani, and erected poor-houses and infirmaries in various places for diseased and leprous people. His reign was distinguished by many other devoted and pious acts. The historian, Archimandrite Stephen, who was his contemporary, narrates concerning him as follows:—"Ashot was raised to the throne chiefly on account of the peaceableness of his disposition; for he treated all around him with mildness and condescension. He not only did not disdain to spend his time in rejoicings with lepers, cripples, and blind men; but even preferred it. He enter-

tained them with wine out of his own cup, and regarded the scales and wounds which were on their bodies as ornaments. He was so liberal in his donations to the poor, that after his death there was nothing to be found in his treasury, because he had given away to the poor even his very dresses and ornaments. Therefore Ashot was called 'the Merciful.'" He governed the empire twenty-six years, and expired in the year 977, after a long life of sanctity. He left three sons, namely, Simbat, Kakik, and Goorgen.

His blessed spouse, Queen Khosrovanoosh, followed his example, by building many magnificent churches, in the number of which are the most famous monasteries of Akbat and Senagin: and she showed the most tender compassion for the poor and sick, was a careful mother to all, and a queen worthy of the Ararat kingdom.

945. Robert II., son of Constantine II., succeeded to the imperial throne in the year 945.

975. William II., son of Robert II., ascended the imperial throne in the year 975, in conjunction with his brother Constance. The Emperor William attacked Samuel, king of the Bulgarians; but he repelled force by force, so that the emperor was obliged to sue for peace. Samuel asked him for his sister in marriage; but by the advice of Sebaste, the metropolitan, William fraudulently sent him his maid-servant instead of his sister. When King Samuel and his nobles discovered the deceit, they caught the metropolitan, and burned him alive. Samuel

advanced against the emperor at the head of a numerous army; but William completely defeated him, and took fifteen thousand men captive. He pulled out the eyes of these captives, divided them into companies of one hundred and fifty, and appointed over each company a guide with only one eye! In this manner he sent them back to Samuel, who died of grief when he saw them in so miserable a plight. From that time William wore the dress of a monk under his royal robes, and took a vow of celibacy and total abstinence from the eating of flesh. He died in the year 1022, after a reign of forty-seven years, and was succeeded by his brother Constance.

977. Simbat II., son of Ashot the Merciful, ascended the throne in the year 977, in the town of Ani. On account of his bravery, he received the appellation of Shah-inshah. In the course of eight years, he built the broad and stupendous wall of Ani, and erected a great number of churches.

984. Abbas, son of Mooshegh, reigned in Kars in the year 984. He greatly improved the empire by opening schools, and appointing proper teachers to instruct young men in the military art. He cleared the empire of all robbers; so that a person might go about in the darkest night without fear of danger. He died in the year 1029, after a reign of forty-five years.

989. Kakik I., brother of Simbat II., ascended the throne in the capital town of Ani, upon the death of his brother, which took place in the year 989. Kakik was a

man of acute understanding, and liberal in the distribution of alms; and he spent the holidays in prayer, and in the singing of psalms. He took to wife Princess Kotromit, daughter of Vasak, who surpassed even her husband in piety and virtue, and devoted her whole life to prayer and the building of churches. Kakik expired in the year 1020, after a reign of twenty-nine years and ten months.

1020. John Simbat, son of Kakik, succeeded to the empire in the year 1020, in the capital town of Ani. He sent the Armenian patriarch, Peter, with an epistle to the Emperor William, who received him with respect, and requested him to sanctify the water in his presence, on the anniversary of Christ's baptism. Peter went through the ceremony according to the manner of the Armenians, and there took place a wonderful miracle; because, when the patriarch commenced blessing the water with the life-giving cross, in that same hour the water receded; and when he poured the oil upon the water, the Holy Spirit appeared in the shape of a white dove, and darted rays of light upon the oil. The king and the rest of the spectators were struck with astonishment, and therefore had a still greater respect for the patriarch than before. On this subject see the histories of Aristarchus and Vartan, and the biography of saints.

But King John was not so brave as his predecessors, and was induced by a disturbance that had been raised

by his own brother, Ashot, and especially by the discord which existed among his chiefs, to concede his capital and the surrounding country into the hands of the Emperor William. He reigned twenty years, and died in the year 1039.

1021. Ashot IV., the brother of John, reigned separately, and contrary to the will of John, for nineteen years, and then died.

1027. David, the son of Sennechrim, reigned in Sebastia ten years.

1029. Kakik, son of Abbas, reigned in Kars, in the year 1029. He was a prudent and brave man, but was continually oppressed by the assaults of foreigners. He expired after a reign of fifty-two years.

1037. Atovm, son of Sennecherim, reigned in Sebastia forty-three years.

1042. Kakik II., the son of Ashot IV., and the last king of Bagratoonian extraction, reigned in the year 1042. He was handsome and brave, and historians say, that so long as a good understanding subsisted between him and his nobles, he surpassed even Tigran in power; but he at last fell a victim to the malice and treachery of his chiefs, and thus the kingdom of Armenia became subject to the Greeks. Oshin I., knight, and chief of Lampron and the province of Ararat, erected a church, and called it by the name of St. Peter. He also cut off the head of a certain Galilean giant, who was of great stature.

1080. Reuben I., a relation of Kakik II., collected an army on the boundaries of Cilicia, with which he gained possession of the fortresses of Kositor and Partster. He drove the Greeks out of the country, fought many battles, and put to flight and killed great numbers of the enemy. He conquered the nations bordering on the mountains of Taurus, and became an independent monarch. He expired after a reign of fifteen years.

1095. Constantine I., son of Reuben I., reigned five years. A famine took place about this time in Italy, and he supplied it with bread, and rendered the Latins great assistance.

1100. Toross I., son of Constantine I., defeated the Scythians and Greeks, and took possession of the greater part of Cilicia, for which he became very celebrated, and was commonly called the lord of Cilicia. He gained possession of the fortress in which Kakik had been murdered, and by his orders the sword of Kakik was delivered up to him, over which he shed abundance of tears. He died in the year 1123, after a valiant reign of twenty-three years.

1123. Leon I., brother of Toross, succeeded to the government after the death of his brother. He reconquered the towns taken by his enemies, and rendered himself famous by his many great exploits, for which the Greeks called him Sebestos, or the Dragon, and he was much respected by the Latins. He died in the year 1141.

1144. Toross II., son of Leon I., occupied Cilicia in the year 1144. He fought many battles with the Greek Emperor Immanuel, and took captive most of his nobles. When Immanuel saw that he had lost all his eminent warriors and chiefs, he concluded peace with Toross, and granted him a diploma, stamped with his own golden seal, insuring to him the title of Pan-sebestos; and he requested his assistance in an attack which he was about to make against the Scythians. The bravery which Toross displayed in this war was even double to that of the former, so that he was greatly admired by the emperor and all the army. He died a natural death in Cilicia, in 1167, after a reign of twenty-three years.

1169. Melekh, brother of Toross II., reigned five years.

1174. Reuben II., nephew of Toross, began to reign in Cilicia in the year 1174, and continued to do so for the space of eleven years; but afterwards resigned the government into the hands of his brother, Leon II., and went himself into retirement as a monk, in which state he continued until the day of his death, in the year 1185.

1186. Leon II., brother of Reuben, succeeded to the undivided possession of the throne in the year 1186. In a short space of time he conquered no less than seventy-two fortresses. He also built many himself, among the number of which is the citadel of the great metropolitan town Sis. He surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom and piety, and was remarkable for his

strict fulfilment of the commandments, his liberality, and the uniform rectitude of his administration. Moreover, he believed with sincere zeal in the most holy mother of God, by whose favour he reinstated the ruined kingdom of Armenia.

In the year 1190, the Emperor Frederick, Philip king of France, and Richard king of England, were engaged in a crusade to Jerusalem, for the purpose of subduing it from the unbelievers; and they sent three several times to Leon, beseeching him to come and assist them. They also wrote a letter to the Patriarch Gregory, requesting him to speak with Leon, and persuade him in favour of their proposition. In the letter to Leon, it was written thus:—"We acknowledge thee as the only true defender of christians, and hope to be comforted with your assistance." Leon returned a favourable answer, accompanied by a great quantity of arms; and also sent them provisions, because they were exhausted with hunger, and had endured great trials from the treachery of the Greeks. It is said, that when the emperor had perused the letter of Leon, he shed tears of joy, and found consolation in the beneficence of the Armenians. He wrote a letter of thanks to the Armenians, and stamped it with his golden seal; and promised in his letter to the Patriarch Gregory, that he would raise Leon with great triumph to the throne. But the death of the emperor prevented him from putting his good design into execution.

At the request of the Emperor Henry, Celestine III., pope of Rome, ordered a magnificent crown to be made, and after he had blessed it, sent it with his cardinal to Leon. Along with it, the emperor also sent a standard, upon which was drawn a representation of the lion. But even before this time the kings of Armenia had standards representing a lion, a dove, and an eagle. Leon and the Patriarch Gregory sent messengers with a general invitation to all the towns and provinces, so that there arrived in the town of Tarson a great number of chiefs and nobles, and a multitude of bishops and monks. These all marched in procession to the church of St. Sophia, and the Patriarch Gregory anointed Leon with great ceremony to be king of Armenia, on the anniversary of Jesus Christ's baptism, in the year 1198; so that the unhappy Armenians once more rejoiced with great joy. The emperor also sent to Leon a very valuable crown embellished with precious stones.

In a war with the sovereign of the Ishmaelites and of the Turks, Leon proved victorious, and made great slaughter of their armies. Before his death he erected some churches and monasteries, and was transported to the abodes of eternity in the year 1219, after a reign of thirty-four years.

Zapel, the daughter of Leon II., reigned in Cilicia, in compliance with the will left by her father at his death, for the space of only one year. Zapel was a very pious woman, and immediately before her death heard a voice

from heaven repeating these words, "Come, my dove; come, my beloved!" This filled her soul with unspeakable rapture, and her face brightened up with joy. The spectators were astonished; but she declared the true reason thereof. — See the history of Vagran, who was an eye-witness, and at that time a secretary of state.

1224. Getoom I. was anointed to be king of Armenia, with great triumph, in the year 1224. With the assistance of his father Constantine, he re-established good order throughout the empire, and put an end to the anarchy at that time so prevalent. The historian Vagran* extols him in the following terms: — "Getoom was well worthy of the throne, being filled with all grace, and remarkable both for the beauty of his person and the goodness of his heart. He was steadfast in the doctrines of true religion, very successful in his enterprises, merciful and compassionate in his disposition, and impartial in his administration of justice." With a view to obtain redress for the wrongs of his country, Getoom paid a visit to the Tartar Khan Manho, (1254,) who entertained him for fifty days, and treated him with great respect. At his departure, Manho gave him a splendid diploma, in which was written a treaty of perpetual peace, and granted him a letter of protection for the

* Vagran flourished in the thirteenth century. At the command of Leon III., king of Armenia, he composed, in verse, a history of the dynasty of the Reubenites, from its commencement to the year of our Lord 1280

churches, and a paper authorising an alleviation of tribute. Getoom was also held in great esteem by the Tartar Khan Oolav.

The life of Getoom was distinguished both for piety and bravery; for he frequently rendered assistance to the Latins and Greeks.—This is evident from a letter of Pope Clemens IV. in which there occurs the following remark:—"We and all the churches know that Getoom often saved the Latin nation out of the hands of its enemies, and also rendered assistance to the Antiochians." The pope wrote a letter to Getoom, dated July 26th, 1265, exhorting him to continue his protection to the Latin nation, &c.—See Renald, vol. ii. Towards the latter end of his life, Getoom raised his son Leon to the throne in his stead, and retired himself from the world, that he might spend the remainder of his days in solitude, and in deeds of piety. He expired after a reign of forty-five years.

1269. Leon III., son of Getoom I., succeeded to the throne in the year 1269, and was anointed to be king before a triumphal assembly of patriarchs, bishops, and nobles. Leon increased the pay of the soldiers, and was liberal in the distribution of alms to the poor. He erected houses of entertainment and infirmaries, and renewed many of the monasteries that were falling to ruins. His spouse, Queen Ann, was similar to him in her disposition, and was equally pious; for it is written concerning her as follows:—"This queen exercised a

motherly care towards all the sons of the church, and supplied the needs of the poor by her benevolence like a newly grown olive-tree, blooming in the deeds of grace and good fruits." Leon departed this life in the year 1289, after a reign of twenty years.

1289. Getoom II., son of Leon III., succeeded to the throne in the year 1289. He would not allow the crown to be placed on his head, but occupied himself very humbly at his devotions, and engaged in the study of doctrines regarding the salvation of the soul. He anointed his brother Toross to be king in his stead, (1293,) and retired to a monastery, in which he wore the habit of a monk, and was called John. Getoom and Toross paid a visit to Constantinople at the invitation of their sister, the Empress Mary. But their brother Simbat took advantage of their absence, and obtained possession of the throne, with the assistance of some rebels, by whom he was anointed king. When Getoom and Toross returned, he deprived the former of his sight, and killed the latter. Getoom was afterwards miraculously restored to sight; but, in the twentieth year of his reign, was betrayed by his nobles, and delivered over with his nephew into the hands of his enemies, who put them both to death.

1308. Oshin, brother of Getoom II., ascended the throne in the year 1308. He went out in defence of the church with only two hundred men, against an army of eighteen thousand men, commanded by Sultan Nasir,

Amir of Bagdad, who had made a sudden attack upon him; but, with the assistance of God, Oshin slew six thousand of the enemy, and took many of the nobles captive. He departed this life in the year 1320, after a reign of thirteen years.

1320. Leon V., the step-son of Oshin, began to govern the empire when he was only ten years of age. He was defeated by the Scythians and Tartars, and suffered a tedious siege, notwithstanding many petitions which he sent to the Latins for assistance; so that the empire was brought into a pitiful state. He departed this life in the year 1341, after a reign of twenty-one years.

Constantine IV. reigned in Cilicia fourteen years.

1365. Leon VI. ascended the throne in the year 1365. He was the last king of Armenia; and his reign was short, for he spent a sorrowful life, and endured great hardships during a long captivity in Lutetia, or Paris. After his release, he considered it as his duty first of all to go with his spouse, Queen Mary, and his daughter Phinoe, to worship God in Jerusalem, where he offered up thanksgiving to the Almighty for his deliverance. The queen and her daughter requested permission to remain there, for the purpose of penitence and devotion; but Leon paid a visit to Pope Urban VI. and was greatly respected by him. He afterwards went to Spain, (1383,) and endeavoured to obtain assistance from King

John, who received him with the honour due to his rank, and showed a tender sympathy towards him in his distress. Leon became celebrated throughout the whole of Spain for his prudence and magnanimity; so that when the flames of war burst forth between France and England, the pope had such confidence in his humility and excellent understanding, that he employed him to perform the part of mediator between the two powers. Accordingly Leon made great exertions to bring about a reconciliation between them, hoping by their means to re-establish the kingdom of Armenia; but was not successful. Leon died a natural death, in Lutetia, on the 19th Nov. 1393, in the sixtieth year of his age, namely, eleven years after his release from captivity, and twenty-eight years after the commencement of his reign.

Queen Mary and her daughter spent a life of sanctity in Jerusalem until the year 1405, and then died.

It is mentioned by the French historian, Peter Le Bron, that Leon appointed King Richard, in his last testament, to be the executor of his will, and defender of the ruined kingdom of Armenia. He also bequeathed two thousand dollars, or crowns, to three fathers of the monastery of Celestine, that they might pray and perform mass for the salvation of his soul, and that of the executor of his will, namely, King Richard. He was buried in the Celestine monastery, and laid in a

marble tomb, on which were engraved the following words,—"Here lieth the body of Leon VI. king of Armenia."

The kingdom of Armenia was henceforth entirely abolished; and from that to the present time, viz.: from the year 1393 to the year 1829, a space has elapsed of 436 years.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

SIEGE AND REDUCTION

OF

CHAITÚR,

BY

THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

FROM THE

AKBAR-NAMAH OF SHAIKH ABUL-FAZL.

TRANSLATED BY

MAJOR DAVID PRICE.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF CHAITÚR.

A. H. 975. A. D. 1567, beginning the 7th of July. —At the period when the area of the metropolis of Ágrah became once more illuminated by the splendour of the imperial Akbar's justice, and his invincible troops had yet scarcely cleared themselves from the dust, or yet tasted of repose, after the recent campaign on the Ganges, against Alí Kulí Khán, and other refractory vassals, information reached the royal ear, of the seditious and turbulent proceedings of the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, and of their attempt to excite insurrectionary movements in the province of Málwáh.

From the time that these refractory chiefs withdrew their allegiance from his authority, whom both in fact and theory they well knew to be their rightful sovereign, they had become wanderers in the desolation of misfortune; until, after a protracted fugitive life, which a few

short sentences would, however, be sufficient to describe, finding the province of Malwáh destitute of troops for its defence, they repaired to that quarter; and considering a short-sighted and turbulent people exactly suited to their own desperate condition, they omitted not to employ the most active exertions to sow distraction among the undefended ryots, and collect resources for their own ambitious designs.

The exalted sovereign of this age, to whom the most hidden secrets were familiar, and who is an unexhausted mine of clemency and compassion, at first, from a regard to the wearied state of the army, seemed disposed to connive at, without immediately chastising, the authors of these seditious proceedings, although convinced that such forbearance would be otherwise repugnant to the will of the Supreme. At the same time he felt some reluctance to engage his sacred person in the suppression of such a revolt, as not quite consistent with maxims of common prudence, recollecting that these men were not of such importance in the world as to claim the personal interposition of majesty. It is, moreover, with the imperial government, an unvarying principle, never to employ coercion in a matter that may be accommodated by a simple verbal communication, nor to devolve to the higher order of military commanders that which can be easily executed by those of an inferior class.

In the allotment of employments, a due attention to these requisites of a monarchical government is indeed indispensable to the safety and prosperity of the state; neither is this to be effected without a thorough and perfect knowledge of individual merit and its several gradations. And when occasions may arrive on which it will be found expedient, with a due regard to such a principle, to put in nomination the more immediate attendants of a court, it can never be doubted that the greater chiefs and governors of provinces, of whatever class or gradation, remembering that their hopes of happiness, both temporal and eternal, depend so materially on their zealous acquiescence in the commands of the sovereign, would hasten with enthusiasm to carry to its accomplishment the execution of whatever design.

Recollecting, nevertheless, that from the wide dispersion of their followers, unavoidable in the nature of their tenures, the execution of many designs would be exposed to inconvenient delay; and thus, what in the outset seems of little moment, swells in the delay into a matter of perilous importance. In short, an established maxim of the empire admits of no such delay in any of its proceedings.

Well acquainted with the temper of the times, our august sovereign, the king of all kings, with that perfection of foresight which is peculiar to him, deter-

mined accordingly to be himself the person to apply a remedy to the mischief. Covering, however, his design under the disguise of aversion to being engaged in the business, and a considerable share of anxiety under the mask of indifference, he appeared to connive at the affair, when his resolution was bent on bringing it to a speedy issue.

A. H. 975. A. D. 1567, 30th of August.—Having so resolved, the imperial Akbar, on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of the month of Safan, with views thus directed, signified his intention of proceeding to the Parganah or township of Bárí, there to recreate himself, as had been his custom on former occasions, in hunting with the Chítah and chasing the antelope; for it was thus not difficult to assemble together the mass of his friends, and those loyally devoted to his authority, without tumult, and without unnecessary alarm, concluding, as he did, that most men, whether retainers to the feudal chiefs, or other classes, would more freely come together when unapprised of any serious object under contemplation—and, when thus assembled, a selection might be easily made of such troops as it should be expedient to send forward for the execution of his plan. He quitted his capital accordingly, and encamped on the plain in the neighbourhood of Bárí, from whence he continued his march, hunting as he moved along towards Dhúlpúr and Gwalior, all in the direction of Málwáh.

As might have been expected, the great Amírs of the

empire, and other feudatories, hastened in crowds to join the imperial standard, as if it were the object of their most cherished hopes—and thus, if the heads of the most devoted adherents of the court, now assembled in the chase, were reckoned up, they would have been found adequate alone to the conquest of the wide world; but of the warriors familiarly known to the sovereign, brought together on this occasion, who could declare the number, and of the under-retainers who would undertake to calculate the amount?

While the imperial army remained encamped at Dhúlpúr, Jagat Singh, the son of Ráná Udaya Singh, was in attendance on the stirrup of Akbar; when, either in merriment, or peradventure with a view, by such an incidental remark, to throw the insolent revolters in Málwáh into a dream of security, the emperor one day accosted that chief, observing that whereas the nobility and great landholders of Hindústán had for the greater part long since done homage at the foot of the throne, the Ráná of Udaipúr had not yet thought proper to avail himself of that transcendent piece of good-fortune; that it was his intention therefore, by a rapid march, to proceed against that prince, and, in his bosom plant the reward of this contumacious failure. He then abruptly demanded what course the young chief intended to pursue on the occasion. Such, whether in jest or earnest, was the strain in which the monarch addressed the son of the Ráná;

and the latter, with a dissimulation something like hypocrisy, seemed to receive the remark, if not favourably, at least without offence.

Unable, however, to scan the truth, and taking for earnest that which was spoken in jest, this wrong-headed and ill-fated young man chose to desert the imperial camp; and thus, in the blindness of ignorance, in avoiding apparent inconvenience, he fell into actual disgrace: for, uninformed and ignorant as he was, he had entertained the suspicion, that under pretence of hunting, the feudatories of the imperial court were proceeding to attack the Ráná his father, and that, in accompanying them, his name would be consigned to infamy: while in reality, by this premature flight, he was bringing the vengeance of the emperor the more suddenly upon his father's head. Nothing could persuade him that the observations had passed in mere merriment, nor that his august sovereign, in pure zeal for the cause of God, was on his march for no other purpose than that of putting down the refractory chieftains already spoken of, in Málwáh. Much less was he able to discover, that in thus abandoning a cause triumphant over all opposition, he was throwing himself into the jaws of destruction, or that in avoiding imaginary dishonour, he was rushing upon actual mischief.*

* It has been thought necessary to convey the sense of these passages as minutely as possible, as describing the immediately ostensible cause which hastened the attack on Chaitúr, although

When the flight of this perverse young man became known to the sovereign, it excited more than ordinary indignation, and what was conceived in jest assumed the appearance of serious earnestness. In truth, from the very earliest period of his accession to the throne, the haughtiest and most unbending of the rulers of Hindústán had for the greater part repaired to do homage to Akbar, with the almost sole exception of Ráná Udaya Singh, than whom in the whole compass of

the reasoning of Abul-Fazl may not in this place be transcendently convincing. In truth, the conduct of the young chief appears natural enough, in concealing his suspicions until the opportunity should arrive of effecting his escape. Here we may venture to observe, and it has not unfrequently occurred to us on other occasions, that the florid declamation, the redundant rhetoric with which the learned and accomplished historian usually introduces his chapters, more particularly at the commencement of the new year, may have deterred many a beginner from prosecuting his studies in this otherwise most excellent and instructive work, although the perspicuity and propriety with which the facts are subsequently narrated, in illustration of the author's reasonings, must abundantly compensate the labour of perseverance. Another circumstance that may have produced distaste among many to the work of Abul-Fazl, is the odium attached to his name by the ordinary bigoted Munshís of India, by whom he is stigmatised as an idolater, because he wore in his bosom the picture of his illustrious master, the humane and enlightened Akbar, who at a period subsequent to that of which we are now treating, became eminently distinguished by the benevolent toleration and protection extended to every class of his Hindú subjects. I would further observe, that if the redundancy of Abul-Fazl's preambles be a blemish, it was one peculiar to the age in which he lived, and in which he is very closely imitated by the historian of the reign of Sháh Abbás. —T.

the empire, there did not exist a prince of more dangerous, ambitious, or more pernicious views. But to sum up the whole, with an intoxication which seemed to derive additional force from the turbulence of opposition, presuming, moreover, on the inaccessible nature of his mountain fastnesses, and the protection of some fortified places of extraordinary strength, as well as on his superabundant resources in wealth and territorial splendour, and not less on a numerous body of Rájpúts devoted to his person, this intractable and intemperate chief did not hesitate to withhold his allegiance from the imperial authority. And such, in fine, was the effect produced by these accumulated means of worldly grandeur on a brain already heated and distempered with pride and arrogance, that he thus most rashly ventured to stray from his only path of peace and safety. It became then the irrevocable determination of the all-subduing sovereign of the age to chastise and make an awful example of this presumptuous man.

A. H. 975. A. D. 1567, 19th of September, *circa*.—Towards the middle part of the former month of Rabía, accordingly, Akbar took his final departure for the avowed purpose of subjugating the country of this refractory Hindú. Arriving before the walls of Súi Súpar, a fort of great reputed strength in the country, it was found that the place had been abandoned, the troops of Súrjen, governor of Rentempúr, who composed the garrison, having withdrawn in consternation on the

approach of the imperial armies. Considering the evacuation of this place as the forerunner of more important successes, the emperor remained encamped in the vicinity for the space of two days. Then having furnished it with provisions from the adjoining districts, and appointed Nazzár Bahádur to the command, he proceeded thence, and in six marches came to the town of Kotah, one of the strongest places in that quarter, where he encamped. The government of this town, and the territory dependent upon it, he conferred upon Sháh Muhammad Kandahárí; after which he prosecuted his march to the fort of Gágrún, in sight of which he now again encamped.

Among the events which took place at this crisis, Abul-Fazl takes occasion to notice the introduction of his elder brother, Faizí, to the presence and favour of Akbar. But as this circumstance is described more at large than seems necessary to the subject, we shall take the liberty of omitting the rather elaborate detail, as well as a copy of verses, extending to two hundred couplets, composed by Shaikh Faizí, on the auspicious occasion.

To proceed then with the narration, the world's master, having no other object in the prosecution of his just design than what flowed from the stream of his benevolence, had been joined by the principal Amírs of the empire in all the splendour of equipment; and, holding the immediate service of the sovereign

as the very perfection of loyalty, these Amírs had hastened, on their part, to assemble under the shadow of the imperial standard, even before the ordinary course had been adopted to summon them together. Accordingly, the multitude of veteran soldiers that thronged the imperial camp soon gave it the appearance of another world of men.

It occurred, therefore, to the imperial Akbar, that while he conducted in person his operations against the Ráná, a body of the imperial feudatories might be judiciously detached into Málwáh, in order to relieve that province from the pestilent proceedings of the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá. The execution of this piece of service fell to the lot of Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán, together with other Kháns, whose names it is not necessary to recapitulate, but who having jágírs, or fiefs, assigned them in the province, thus became responsible for the restoration of tranquillity. Separating, accordingly, from the main body of the imperial army near Gágrún, these Amírs proceeded forthwith into Málwáh; and continuing their march with every possible celerity, they did not suspend their career until they reached the vicinity of Ujain.

It would now appear, that on receiving intelligence of the departure of the imperial armies from the metropolis, and that they were gradually approaching in the direction of Málwáh, Olúgh Mirzá, the elder of the insurgent Mirzás, hastened to join his brothers, Ibráhím

Husainí and Muhammad Husainí Mirzás, at Ujain, where they resided, in order to consult on the measures to be adopted for their common safety at a crisis so full of peril. When, however, these miserable men received further intelligence, that the imperial armies were actually arrived in the neighbourhood of Gágrún, they withdrew in confusion towards Mándú, where Olúgh Mirzá yielded up his last breath at the very sound of the imperial kettle-drums. The surviving brothers, convinced that a conflict with the imperialists far surpassed their strength, fled without further delay into Gujarát, where they joined the standard of Jengíz Khán, one of the slaves of Sultán Muhammad, formerly sovereign of that country, who, on the death of his master, obtaining possession of Champanír, Broach, and Surát, together with some other places of strength in the country, had some time since assumed the government. Here also, indulging in their turbulent propensities, they continued to excite discontent and commotion, until the subsequent final subjugation of that province by the imperial armies; when, the measure of their offences being complete, they experienced that fate which will be recorded hereafter in its proper place.

In the meantime, finding the whole of the province of Málwáh completely purged of the malignant influence of these unfortunates, the imperial generals quietly established themselves in their several jágírs, transmitting

to their royal master the necessary memorials, announcing the final flight of the insurgents beyond the boundaries of the empire.

During the period in which the imperial camp continued stationary near Gágrún, and arrangements were in progress for the expedition into Málwáh, the Amírs, Asof Khán and Vazír Khán, whose jágírs lay in that neighbourhood, proceeded by command of Akbar against the fortress of Mándal, one of the strongest places subject to the Ráná, and at this time defended by Ráwat Belwai Solungí, a chieftain of great valour and reputation. The place, however, finally succumbed to the superior fortune of Akbar.

It was evident, that on the departure of the expedition into Málwáh, the imperial army, immediately on the spot, was in numerical strength considerably reduced; still, confiding in the long-experienced aid of the Giver of victory, not less than in the tried courage of his soldiers, Akbar now advanced into the territory of his haughty adversary, conceiving it probable, that hearing of the diminished force of his invaders, the Ráná might be tempted to quit the mountain recesses, and thus contribute to the more easy accomplishment of his own subjugation.

In the meantime, entertaining a notion that the imperial army was but inadequately provided with the means of carrying on the arduous operations of a siege, the infatuated Ráná devoted his attention to strengthen

the fortifications of Chaitúr, and to furnish it with stores and provisions for many years to come. And yet, to the limited scope of human vision, the ramparts of this celebrated place seemed already beyond the reach of anything like successful attack. He lodged in it, moreover, a garrison of five thousand Rájpúts of acknowledged bravery, and already renowned for their devotion to the paths of glory. After which, having laid waste the surrounding districts in every direction, so that there was not left a blade of grass remaining, he finally withdrew himself beyond the inaccessible passes of his mountain lands.

On due consideration, Akbar was early convinced that the success of the enterprise in which he was engaged would be but little advanced by pursuing the man whose doom was already sealed, in the heart of his mountains; and it was surely by the inspiration of his superior fortune, that he now determined to devote the whole of his energies to the sole object of making himself master of this fortress of Chaitúr, universally considered as the very foundation and resting-place of the Ráná's power and renown. On Thursday, the 19th of the latter Rabía, accordingly, he appeared in the neighbourhood of the place, and encamped.

A. H. 975. A. D. 1567, 22d of October.—The crisis of his arrival appears to have been marked by the occurrence of a most violent thunder-storm, accompanied by an unusual severity of cold and high winds; the

former making the very earth tremble, and spreading universal confusion and alarm. In an hour or two, however, the air cleared up, the world became once more visible, and the stupendous fortress of Chaitúr appeared in the distance.

His resolution having been already taken to lay siege to this formidable place, of which the towers and battlements seemed to touch the skies, and to bring matters to an early decision with its numerous garrison, Akbar, on the day subsequent to that of his arrival, changed his ground, and encamped the army on the plain at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which the fortress had been erected. Then taking horse, and accompanied by those who usually composed the imperial retinue, he proceeded to make the circuit of the hill; which, by admeasurement, the surveyors, who on all occasions were in attendance on the imperial stirrup, found to be more than two kós* in circumference in the narrowest or highest part, and in that part below, which was open to the ingress and egress of the inhabitants, to be full five kós† in extent. The Bukhshí, or major-generals, received orders on the spot to apportion to the several Amírs the points from which they were to commence their approaches, and those who

* Three miles, fifty-three yards, and one foot, according to the statute of Akbar, reckoning one mile, four furlongs, twenty-six yards, and two feet to the kós.

† Seven miles, four furlongs, one hundred and thirty-three yards, and two feet.

comprised the imperial reconnoitring party, immediately took post on the ground allotted to them. In the same manner the remainder of the imperial forces destined for the siege successively took their stations as they came up on the several points of attack marked out for them. In this way the entire circumference of the place was completely shut in, in the course of one month from its investiture.

While the operations of the siege were thus in progress, several of the imperial generals were detached to lay waste and pillage the country, as well as to chastise the refractory natives. Among these Asof Khán was sent against the city of Rámpúr, the gates of which he opened with the point of his sword, thus entitling himself to the unaffected applause of his sovereign. It having been at the same time indicated that the Ráná had taken up his abode somewhere in the direction of Udaipúr and Gúhír, Husaini Kulí Khán, at the head of a strong division, was detached to that quarter, to endeavour to seize the person of the refractory Rájpút. Husaini Kulí proceeded accordingly to Udaipúr, which was the seat of the Ráná's government. Here, by a system of plunder and slaughter, he carried perdition to the bosoms of the turbulent, pursuing and putting them to the sword wherever he found them assembled in any numbers in the neighbourhood of Udaipúr, or among the mountains of Gúhír; by all of which he made himself master of an immense booty in

every description of property. Nevertheless, after every possible exertion had been employed in the pursuit, neither note nor name of the fugitive Ráná having been discovered, Husaini Kulí Khán was necessarily recalled, and shortly afterwards returned to the presence.

While also the imperial armies were engaged in the siege of Chaitúr, intelligence was received that Itimád Khán, one of the nobles of Gujarát, having been defeated by Jengíz Khán, and the rebel Mirzás, were arrived at Dongarpúr; and the circumstance had been scarcely well told, when the memorial of the vanquished chief, together with a suitable display of presents, was laid at the foot of the throne. Among the rare articles presented on the occasion is particularly to be noticed a sea or river elephant,* the ears of which were of a monstrous size, and which in other respects exhibited movements of an extraordinary nature. The agents of this nobleman experienced a gracious reception from Akbar; and Hasan Khân, the treasurer, furnished with letters of condolence, was directed to accompany them on their return. His good destiny did not operate with this chief, however, to avail himself of the opportunity of visiting the presence of Akbar; and circumstances appear to have occurred to prevent the treasure from returning to court, until a period long subsequent,

* If this were not a hippopotamus I cannot pretend to say what it was.—T.

when he rejoined his imperial master at the metropolis of Agrah.

During the whole of this time the operations of the siege were prosecuting with unremitting diligence and activity, and in the attacks with which the works were continually assailed, Khán Aálam and Aádil Khán in particular, with other distinguished warriors, exhibited all that could be looked for from the most determined valour and self-devotion. Yet as these exertions appear to have been hitherto directed with but little regard to system, they proved just as unavailing as an attempt on the part of the denizens of this nether world to scale the firmament of heaven. It was in vain that the royal Akbar, by the most peremptory orders, constantly endeavoured to restrain them from this useless and undisciplined exposure, which, in the estimation of every wise and prudent man, deserves rather the character of unreflecting rashness than of cool determined courage. Still carried away by the impulse of this fool-hardy temerity, these otherwise gallant men closed their ears against evèry remonstrance, and continued their desultory attempts on different parts of the place, to the useless sacrifice of many a brave and valuable soldier: for the shot and arrows of the besiegers, merely grazing the surface of the walls and battlements, passed over without mischief, while every discharge from the garrison was generally destructive to both man and horse.

Under these circumstances an imperial mandate finally came forth, directing that certain parts of the rampart, carefully selected for the purpose, should be mined and blown up by means of gunpowder, so as to afford a practicable opening for assault, while in other points the works should be approached by sap.

Both these perilous operations were immediately put in progress; but although there were several other trenches of approach proceeded with on the occasion, in which the besiegers soon contrived to lodge themselves in competent security, and by which the besieged beheld themselves appallingly menaced on every side, there were three lines of attack of a more formidable magnitude, which seemed calculated to excite alarm in the garrison more than all the others put together. First was that under the immediate superintendence of the emperor himself, opposite to the gate of Lakuhtah, and carried on through the united exertions of Hasan Khán the Jaghataian, Rái Puttadás, and other distinguished commanders. The body of miners seems to have been exclusively employed on this point. The second of these principal lines of attack was under the direction of Shujáat Khán, and Rájáh Túdermal, with other chiefs whom it would be unnecessary to enumerate. The third was consigned to the diligence of Abdulmajíd Asof Khán, Vazír Khán, and other experienced warriors.

Foreseeing that it would be attended with incon-

venient delay were he to send for his heavy ordnance from the distant stations of the empire, some pieces of a larger caliber, to carry a half maun ball, (a twenty-pounder probably,) were cast on the spot, and in the presence of the emperor. This was a measure which had never entered the imagination of the garrison as likely to occur, and seems to have filled their heads with agitation and alarm; for knowing that it was easily renewable from day to day, they could not but feel assured that it must hasten their final destruction. They therefore concluded that their only resource was to bring to work their powers of deception; and for this purpose they, at one time, sent out Sanda Siláhdár, and latterly a certain Sáhib Khán, in the language of humble distress, to declare their submission to the imperial authority, and to the payment of any tribute that might be imposed upon them.

To these proposals several of the leading Amírs expressed themselves disposed to accede, considering that it would best promote the welfare of the imperial government to turn aside from an undertaking which appeared to offer some unforeseen and very serious obstacles. Not so, however, with their august sovereigu, who definitively declared that the liberation of the besieged depended alone on the unconditional personal surrender of the Ráná. And in this he resolutely persevered, although, tired out by the protracted labours of the siege, his generals endeavoured by every argument they

could invent to secure an escape from a scene of so much peril; all in vain, for the monarch was not by any consideration to be diverted from his purpose.

On the other hand, baffled in their attempt at deception, the garrison, possessing a very effective force in artillery and musketeers, kept up an incessant, destructive fire upon the pioneers and working-parties employed in carrying on the approaches; and although the latter proceeded in their work with every possible precaution, protecting themselves with targets covered with raw hides, and other ordinary modes of defence, the daily loss of life amounted to little short of two hundred men.

The sap continued, notwithstanding, to be pushed forward daily closer to the works, and the mines were in gradual preparation, in all which the workmen were encouraged by the most liberal rewards—silver and gold being considered of no more value than the dust of the earth, when compared with the importance of their exertions. By means of a thick wall of clay carried on, on each hand, in a serpentine or zig-zag direction, the sap was at length completely proof against cannon-shot or any other missile, and the miners were now enabled to carry on their work so successfully that they gained the foot of the wall from two points. In two adjoining places, or in two places at once in the wall, excavations were then soon effected, and the chambers, two in number, were immediately charged, the one with one

hundred and twenty, and the other with eighty mauns of gunpowder*.

Things being in this state, orders were forthwith issued that the choicest and most ardent in the pursuit of glory should stand prepared in arms, when the mines should be fired and the rampart blown asunder, to rush to the assault and take possession of the place.

On Wednesday, the fifteenth of the latter Jamádí, a match was applied to the train which led to the gunpowder in the mines, one of which immediately exploding, the town under which it lay was torn from the foundation, and, together with the unfortunates posted for its defence, blown to atoms. That part of the train which communicated with the other mine had not, however, produced, as was intended, a simultaneous effect; when the imperial troops, observing a part of the works thus laid open to them, inconsiderately rushed forward to the breach, and the other mine exploding at the same moment, the whole of the assailants, together with those of the garrison drawn up to oppose them, were at once involved in the same whirlwind of destruction; their bodies, and the souls by which they were inhabited, for ever severed, and their limbs scattered in the air. The report of this tremendous explosion reached, it is said, to the distance of fifty kós, to the astonishment of all

* At the lowest computation, of twenty-eight pounds to the maun, the former would be thirty-three barrels, and the latter twenty-two barrels and a half of gunpowder.—T.

that heard it, and some of the stones blown up on the occasion were thrown to the distance of several farsangs.

The cause assigned for this disastrous occurrence, as far as it is to be understood in the narration, was, that both mines were designed to be ignited by a single train,* and the match was accordingly applied to the single extremity. Nevertheless, one of the mines, contrary to expectation, exploding some minutes later than the other, the assailants, without attending to the circumstance, and abandoning all precaution, rushed forward to the attack, and thus perished.

In fact the emperor, when it was reported to him that the mines were prepared for explosion, openly expressed his desire, that as there were two mines, they might also be fired from two places, otherwise that one would probably be sooner or later than the other, which could not fail to be attended with some calamitous result; his highness thus clearly foreseeing what came to pass. Kabír Khán, however, and those who with him superintended the operation, preferring their own visionary speculations, communicated from one point the fire which was to run to two separate places, so that at the moment of execution, fate having so determined, their plan met with a deplorable failure, and that happened which happened on the occasion.

Nearly two hundred of the assailants ascended to the

* The original however says *fatilah*, which, strictly speaking, signifies a match.—T.

abodes of the blessed on this occasion, of whom one hundred were men of name, and among these were twenty individuals familiarly known to the sovereign. Of these latter was Sayid Jamál-ad-dín, the son of Sayid Ahmad, one of the Sayids of Barhah, eminently distinguished in the favour of his master. Others were Mírek Bahádar, and Mohammed Sálah, the son of Mírek Khán Gulábí, in earliest youth the very fire-spark of intrepidity. Also Hayát Sultán, Sháh Alí, Eyshek ágha, (one of the gentlemen ushers,) Yazdán Kulí, Mirzá Balúch, Ján Beg and Yár Beg, both brothers of Shír Beg, the Yasáwal Báshí, or chief of the Exempts.

As to Mírek Bahádar, that veteran, with forty more who had lodged themselves in one of the ravines by which the hill was intersected in different places, considering that they were safe from danger, and watching for their opportunity to take advantage of the garrison, were completely overwhelmed in the ravine by the earth and rubbish thrown up in the explosion. At the termination of the siege it was discovered that they had thus perished. On the part of the enemy the loss on this occasion amounted to about forty men.

The catastrophe could not have remained long unknown to the other portions of the imperial army, who now hastened to the spot and opened their fire upon the enemy. The latter exposed themselves to danger and death without reserve, while their utmost efforts were employed to raise a retrenched wall behind the breach,

which in a very short time they completed to an height equal with the rampart, and of competent thickness.

On the same day another mine was sprung from the attack of Asof Khán; and although, from want of skill or some failure in setting fire to the train, the explosion was imperfect, thirty of the garrison were destroyed; but, however, the assailants experienced nothing of injury, considerable delay was produced in the progress of the siege. At the same time, it occurred at a point which might have opened the eyes of the garrison to a sense of their danger, and induce them to repose their hope of safety in supplication and submission alone. Nevertheless, the occurrence of such a circumstance of delay in the camp of the besiegers, as may, at first sight, perhaps, appear to the inexperienced a subject of exultation, it availed with the besieged as an encouragement to persevere in their contumacious and arrogant resistance.

With their imperial adversary, however, the circumstance had the effect of increasing his ardour, and of urging him to push the siege with the greater activity and determination. For while on the very verge of destruction, and the measure of their existence nearly full, the short-sighted garrison were apparently indulging in premature rejoicings, Akbar, whose plan had been maturely laid to reduce the place by a regular and gradual course of operations, was but little disturbed by

any trifling reverse or failure. He therefore cautioned his generals against all precipitate measures; since a place so singularly strong, both by nature and art, protected on one side by the inaccessible scarp of the hill on which it is erected, and on the other by its almost impregnable fortifications, defended moreover by a numerous and resolute garrison, abundantly supplied in every respect, it was not to be otherwise carried than through the medium of patient and mature arrangement.

It being, therefore, determined by the emperor to proceed exclusively by sap, as the best possible method of insuring the conquest of this or any other place, that species of approach was accordingly carried on with more than former diligence and activity. Very frequently the monarch was in person present in the trenches close to the fort, and it was his amusement to fire at the troops of the garrison as they exposed themselves from time to time. On one occasion, as he was making his usual circuit of the works, once passing near the gate of Lakuhtah, where the imperial troops were carrying on under cover the necessary operations of the siege, he took his stand behind the parapet, and proceeded, according to custom, to fire through the openings, or loop-holes, at the people of the garrison. Many of his courtiers were in attendance, and among these Jalál Khán, for the purpose of skreening the person of his master, was standing close by, resting the

target which he carried on the top of the parapet, and thus covered, he was observing the fire kept up by the besieged. The soldiers at work in the trench, or battery, were expressing their admiration of the extraordinary skill of one of the musketeers of the garrison, who defended one of the works opposite to them, and by whose single fire numerous casualties had been produced among them, when a shot from the same skilful hand, aimed at the target, passed through Jalál Khán's ear, without, however, any farther injury. The emperor observed to Jalál, that the man by whom he had been wounded did not seem disposed to show himself; but that if he would exhibit only one glimpse of his person, he would engage to avenge him of his wound. Then levelling his fusil at the matchlock of the same marksman, the muzzle of which was presented through the loop-hole, the emperor fired—to fire and hit his object was one and the same thing. At the moment it was not known that the shot had taken effect, although even then it was so surmised, as the musket was seen to drop; but at the termination of the siege it was ascertained that the man actually fell by the emperor's hand; that his name was Ismáil, and that he was commander of the musketeers of the garrison. Such an incident taking place before their eyes could not but fill the soldiery with redoubled confidence in the undoubted ascendancy of their sovereign's fortune.

Akbar continued to make this his constant practice,

to the no small annoyance of the besieged, many a gallant individual of whom was thus daily despatched to the abode of desolation—to the darksome solitude of the grave. One day, as he was proceeding to the battery thrown up in the direction of Chaitini, a smaller hill close to the fort, and with his usual diligence giving instructions to the people at work, he was at a particular spot greatly exposed to a very heavy fire of both artillery and musketry. With an unshaken reliance on the protection of his Maker, he did not, however, in the least degree alter his pace, but was proceeding deliberately along, when a cannon-shot from the works struck the ground close to his feet, and in its rebound killed not less than twenty of his bravest soldiers. Another day, Khán Aálam, who was standing close to the emperor, received a musket-shot, which penetrated through both cuirass and the tunic within it, but providentially, without farther injury, cooled in the perspiration of his inner garment. This circumstance also had the effect of adding farther assurance to the confidence of the army. On another occasion, Muzaffar Khán was struck by a musket-ball without sustaining the slightest injury; but it would be endless to record every instance of the protection of the Supreme Being extended to the illustrious Akbar during the prosecution of this arduous and memorable siege, to the manifest edification of the uninstructed multitude, and to the increasing confidence of his devoted subjects.

That a magnanimous spirit is the key of every enterprise, however difficult, a lamp to the mysterious paths of destiny, will be peculiarly exemplified, when a puissant monarch, like him whose exploits we have undertaken to describe, shall have set his mind on the achievement of some arduous and perilous act, which, although it surpass the conception of the ordinary mass of mankind, is, nevertheless, through some extraordinary influence of an auspicious destiny, brought to a successful issue with a facility frequently very surprising.

Thus it was, that in harmony with that exalted spirit with which the illustrious Akbar was animated, the approach by sap, which was carried on under the superintendence of Rájah Túdarmal and Kásim Khán, the Amírs Barr and Bahar, was completed with the happiest success, and a lodgment formed at the head of it, calculated to afford ample security against any attempts on the part of the garrison. For two nights and a day previous to the completion of this work, the emperor had been himself present on the spot, encouraging by his voice and example the diligence of the working-parties. And it was now that the imperial troops, determined at all hazards on opening a passage into the place, effected an alarming breach in the walls. On the other hand the besieged continued to maintain the defence with unabated resolution and intrepidity.

The emperor in person, also equally bent on bringing the conflict to issue, continued to employ his fusil, and

taking his station on the upper part of the sap, from thence contemplated with satisfaction and admiration the exertions of his lion-hearted veterans; for during this period of a day and two nights, the imperial troops had been so incessantly engaged that they partook of neither sleep nor food. So that, both on one side and the other, the combatants, exhausted with fatigue, seemed incapable of farther exertion; and thus it was until the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of the month of Shabán, when this stupendous fortress, which seemed heaven-defended, was carried by assault.

A. H. 975. A. D. 1568, 23d February.—The circumstances of this auspicious and splendid event may be distinctly collected from the following statement. On the night previous to the day of its capture, the place was attacked at once on every side, and the rampart having been breached in several parts, all things indicated that the conquest of Chaitúr was now at hand. Near the head of the principal sap, the imperial troops pushing forward on anticipation, succeeded in effecting a considerable breach in the strongest part of the wall, where they proceeded to exhibit the noblest proofs of devoted courage. Some time after midnight, however, the besieged brought a competent force to bear upon this breach; and on the one hand, giving themselves up to the winds of destiny, proceeded on the other to load this breach with bales of cloth and cotton, and faggots smeared with oil, for the purpose of setting

on fire the moment the besiegers advanced to the assault, so that it would be impossible to effect a passage through.

At a period so critical, a person came in view of the emperor, clad in that species of armour denominated *Hazár míkhí*, or mail of a thousand studs, and exhibiting proofs of the highest authority, stood upon the breach, where he appeared to exert himself with signal bravery and activity. The identity of the personage who thus conspicuously distinguished himself could not however be made out by any one. Immediately seizing a favourite fusil, on which he had bestowed the name of Singrám, Akbar instantly discharged it at this person, expressing at the same time to Shujáat Khán and Ráját Bahgwántdás, that feeling on this occasion the same exhilarating sensation as he experienced when killing game, he entertained but little doubt that his shot had taken effect on the man; on which Khán Jahán, another of the chiefs in attendance, took occasion to mention, that during the night the same personage had repeatedly appeared in the breach, exerting himself with singular diligence and activity, and that if he appeared no more, it was sufficiently evident that he must have fallen.

Not an hour afterwards, Jubbár Kulí Dívánah came and reported that not a man of the enemy was to be seen at the breach, and almost at the same instant the interior of the fort appeared on fire in several places.

The attendants on the emperor were indulging in a variety of conjectures as to the meaning of this conflagration, when Ráját Bahgwántdás set the matter at rest by explaining that this was the Johar fire; adding, that in Hindustán, on the occurrence of a catastrophe such as was likely to happen on this memorable night, it was the custom to prepare a pile of sandal-wood and odoriferous drugs, together with dry fuel and other combustibles smothered with oil, and placing those in whom they could confide in charge of their women, with instructions to set fire to the pile and consume these unoffending and hapless females to ashes, the instant it was ascertained that the conflict had terminated fatally, and that the men were slain.

In fact, on the morning which dawned in victory to the imperial arms, it was ascertained that the shot discharged by the royal Akbar had actually taken effect on the person of Jaimal Pátá, the governor of the fort, and at once decided the fate of Chaitúr and his own. The Johar conflagration was found to ascend from the mansions of Pátá of the Seisúdíah tribe, and one of the Ráná's most confidential ministers, of the Rahtúrs, of whom a certain Sáhib was the chief, and of Aisúrdas the leader of the Cháhúns, in which there were consumed to the number altogether of three hundred helpless females.

During the remainder of the night, although the breach had been entirely abandoned by the garrison,

which had fled in dismay on the death of Jaimul, and withdrawn to various recesses of the places, the imperial troops, nevertheless, cautiously abstained from attack, with that prudent forbearance always necessary to avert unseen and sudden danger. They were at the same time held in perfect readiness to enter the place at the first dawn of daylight. Accordingly, at break of day, the troops issued at once from their trenches, and rushing into the fort at all points, proceeded immediately to the work of bondage and slaughter; while the unfortunate Rájpúts, having lost all order, were put to the sword, fighting and resisting to the very last man.

In the meantime, the emperor gave orders that certain of his elephants trained for battle should be brought from the opposite approaches, and stationed at the top of the wall; of these, the names of five are particularly recorded, although it may not here be very necessary to repeat them. Each of them, however, did such things as surpassed all imagination.

At dawn of day, mounted on his elephant, Asmán Shukúh, in majesty like heaven, Akbar approached the fort, surrounded by thousands of his bravest troops on foot. Among other acts of extraordinary intrepidity recorded on this occasion, is that relating to Aisúrdas Cháhún, one of the most intrepid of the defenders of Chaitúr, to whose name we have already adverted. Observing, or singling out the elephant Buddahgur, this gallant chief demanded the name

it bore, then rushing courageously forward on being told, he with one hand seized the tremendous animal by the tusk, while with the other he plunged his dagger into it, exclaiming at the same time, "Thou shalt be the reporter of my cause to him whose judgment of true merit so conspicuously adorns the world." Another of the five elephants, by name Jengíah, having had its proboscis severed by one of the devoted Rájpúts, continuing, nevertheless, although the loss of proboscis is generally supposed fatal, to exert a force almost supernatural, actually put to death sixteen of the garrison, after having already destroyed thirty men previous to its wound. Extraordinary facts are farther related with regard to the elephant Buddahgur. Of another of these war elephants, that named Gaderah, it is said, that on entering the town, taking fright at the tumultuous outcries among the combatants, it ran off, and coming as it happened into a narrow street, through which a multitude of the miserable garrison, or inhabitants, were ascending towards one of the breaches, it trampled the greater part of them to death, and dispersed the remainder. Izmat Khán, who rode this elephant, received some wounds on the occasion, of which he died a few days afterwards.

The emperor himself related that, while he stood upon the walls contemplating the extraordinary scene that was passing under his eye, he observed the elephant named Sabadliah enter the place, and commit the greatest

havoc among the Rájpúts. Being however, at last, attacked sword in hand, and wounded by one of these, the animal, regardless of its wound, seized him with his trunk, and was tossing him in the air, when being assailed by another of the Rájpúts, it was constrained to release its victim, by whom it was again instantly attacked, although it succeeded in defending itself with an agility of movement that was truly admirable.

On the emperor's authority it is farther related, that while the conflict was thus continued with unabating fury and obstinacy, one of the imperial warriors came under his view, whom he could not recognize, and meeting a Rájpút, coming from the breach, the latter challenged him to battle, and the challenge being cheerfully accepted, the two warriors were fiercely engaged in combat, when another of the emperor's troops coming up, prepared to assist his fellow soldier; with very exemplary generosity, the first warrior besought his comrade not to interfere, since it would be entirely at variance with every principle of true courage, should he admit of support, when he alone had been invited to the conflict by his adversary. Thus nobly declining the proffered aid, he continued the combat and was finally victorious. The emperor added, that notwithstanding every inquiry, he could never discover who the person was that gave this signal example of equal valour and generosity; and he therefore conceived the idea that he must have been one of that mysterious order of beings

sometimes permitted to put on the garb of humanity, for the support of those who, like the august Akbar, bear the attribute of true greatness, both intellectual and corporeal.

Again, it is related on the authority of the imperial Akbar, that, although at the commencement of the storm not more than fifty elephants were brought into the fort, the number that entered before the conclusion amounted to three hundred; and the havoc which they occasioned among the miserable garrison was great beyond description. That when he came near the temple of Govind Siám, one of those who managed the elephants caused his elephant to trample under foot a person, whom it bore upon its trunk to the presence of Akbar. The elephant-driver observed to the emperor, that he could not certify either the rank or name of the individual thus brought before him, but from every appearance, that he must have been a person of distinguished note, perhaps a leader among the troops of the garrison; since the number of men who devoted themselves to death round his person was extraordinary beyond example. It was, however, subsequently discovered that the individual who thus suffered, was no other man than Pata, or Pataráwal, eminently distinguished among the Rájpúts, and already mentioned as chief of the Seisúdíah tribe; he still exhibited some signs of life when brought before Akbar, but expired a little afterwards.

The number of Rájpúts inured to war collected on this occasion for the defence of Chaitúr, is stated at nearly eight thousand; but the inhabitants, who bore a part also in the defence of the place, amounted to more than forty thousand men. When the banners of the empire were displayed upon the works, the besieged retired partly into the pagodas; and trusting to the sanctity of those places, and the protection of their idols, awaited with fortitude the moment to lay down their lives. Others obstinately awaited their fate in their own houses; while others, with sword in hand and shortened lance, bravely faced their assailants, from whom they found the death they sought. Those who had madly taken post in the temples and dwelling-houses, when they beheld the imperial troops advancing upon them, fiercely sallied out, but were destroyed before they could come within sword-length, by the fire of their adversaries.

Thus, between early dawn and the hour of noon was the period in which these unfortunates were doomed to perish—to be consumed both body and soul by the wrath of Omnipotence; the slain on the occasion being stated at nearly thirty thousand men. And as an apology, perhaps, for this great and indiscriminate slaughter, it is ascribed by the author to the following circumstance:

Formerly, that is to say, on the third day of the month of Moharram, of the year seven hundred and

three, (corresponding with the 16th of August, A. D. 1313,) when the place was reduced, after a siege of six months and seven days, by Sultán Alá-ad-dín, of Delhi, the non-military inhabitants having refrained from taking any share in the defence, were permitted to remain secure from slaughter; whereas, on the present occasion, having persisted to the last in obstinate and pertinacious hostility, the crisis of mercy was past when the rays of victory were beaming on the imperial standard, and the mandate came forth for a general massacre of the people. Great numbers, however, fell alive into the hands of the victors.

The anger of Akbar had at the same time, it seems, been greatly excited against the musketeers, who had exhibited so much skill and activity in the course of the siege; and it was considered very extraordinary, that on the capture of the place, notwithstanding the closest search, not a vestige of them was anywhere to be discovered. It was, however, afterwards ascertained, that while the imperial troops were employed in the work of pillage and massacre, these musketeers, or matchlockmen, to the number of a thousand strong, collecting their women and children together, and driving them before, as if they were captives taken in the storm, the people employed to search for them were misled by the deception; and considering them as a body of the imperial foot-soldiers conveying away their booty, they thus suffered them to escape altogether.

On this memorable day, although there was not in the place a house or street or passage of any kind that did not exhibit heaps of slaughtered bodies, there were three points in particular at which the number of the slain was surprisingly great; one of these was the palace of the Rána, into which the Rájpúts had thrown themselves in considerable numbers; from whence they successively sallied upon the imperialists in small parties, of two and three together, until the whole had nobly perished sword in hand. The other was the temple of Mahádeo, their principal place of worship, where another considerable body of the besieged gave themselves up to the sword. Thirdly, was the gate of Rámpúrah, where these devoted men gave their bodies to the winds in appalling numbers.

This important conquest, which may well be considered the crowning triumph of imperial fortune, had the immediate effect of dispelling those fumes of ambition and self-importance which had distempered the brains of the haughtiest powers in Hindústán, and disposed them to assume in exchange the bonds of sincere allegiance. On this memorable day, it is also singular to remark, that of the whole imperial army engaged in the assault, the only individual of any distinction who drank the cup of martyrdom was Zarb Alí Tuwáchai (an adjutant or director-general perhaps).

Having rendered homage to the Giver of victory, Akbar, soon after the hour of noon, returned to his camp. And here he continued for three days longer, engaged in

completing his arrangements for the settlement of the the country, of which he conferred the government upon Abdul-majíd Asof Khán.

At the period when he determined on the siege of Chaitúr, Akbar had pledged himself by a vow, when he should have achieved that important conquest, to visit the shrine of Mo'ín-ad-dín Chíshti, at Ajmír, proceeding the whole of the way on foot; and as he was now about to quit Chaitúr on his return to the metropolis, he resolved on the discharge of his vow. For that purpose, on Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of the month of Sha'bán, (27th of February, A. D. 1568,) he quitted accordingly his camp before Chaitúr, and on foot proceeded towards his destination. He continued his progress stage by stage, notwithstanding the oppressive heat of the weather, and the inconvenience of the sandy district through which his journey lay, to Múndal or Mandalgur.

At that place Shogáz Karáwal, one of the couriers who had been previously despatched to announce the intention of the emperor, returned with a message from those who ministered at the shrine, purporting that the sainted Khoajah Mo'ín had appeared in a dream, communicating to them his perfect sense of the piety and sincerity of the emperor's design in coming thus far on foot to visit his humble sepulchre, and urging them by all means to dissuade him from continuing his journey in a manner so inconvenient to himself. On the receipt of such communication, the emperor consented to perform

the remainder of his pilgrimage on horseback, until within one stage of Ajmír; when he finally resumed his journey on foot towards that place, which he reached in safety, on Sunday, the seventh of Ramzán, of the year 975—corresponding with the 6th of March, A. D. 1568.

A

SHORT HISTORY

OF

THE SECRET MOTIVES WHICH INDUCED THE DECEASED

ALEMDÁR MUSTAFÁ PÁSHÁ,

AND THE LEADERS OF THE IMPERIAL CAMP, TO MARCH FROM THE CITY OF

ADRIANOPLE TO CONSTANTINOPLE,

WITH THE STRATAGEMS THEY EMPLOYED IN ORDER TO DEPOSE

SULTÁN MUSTAFÁ,

AND RESTORE TO THE THRONE

SULTÁN SELÍM THE MARTYR,

IN THE YEAR (OF THE HIJRA) TWELVE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-TWO.

A. D. 1807.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH,

BY COLONEL THOMAS GORDON,

ACTING CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF THE ROYAL GREEK ARMY.

PREFACE.

THIS work, which was privately circulated in Constantinople, is anonymous; but, from the elegant style in which it is written, is evidently the work of a man of rank and learning, well acquainted with the events he describes, and the intrigues of that period.

A

SHORT HISTORY

OF THE STRATAGEMS EMPLOYED TO DEPOSE

SULTAN MUSTÁFÁ.

When Terraniklí Ismáíl Aghá, Ayán of Rudshuk, in consequence of an accidental gun-shot wound, travelled the path of death, and turned to dust, one of his familiar attendants, named Alemdár Mustáfá Aghá, being unable by force to possess himself of the ayánship, strove to gain the good-will of the court, and had a petition presented, setting forth that he was of a much milder and more submissive temper than the deceased Ayán. His application meeting with a favourable reception, a letter of appointment from the grand Vazír's office was written and forwarded to him by Refík Efendí, who was then the Vazír's Kehiyá. After some time had elapsed, a rupture with Russia took place, and on that account the nomination of a powerful Vazír to command on the banks of the Danube appeared to be absolutely necessary. Alemdár was then on the point of obtaining promotion, while it seemed likely that he would not accept the office of Válí, and that even if he

did accept, it would be with a bad grace. Sultán Selím's cabinet, being convinced of his strength and fitness for the rank of Vazír, resolved to confer upon him the dignity of three tails, with the title of Páshá of Silistria. For the purpose of notifying to him this advancement, and inducing him to accept it in conformity with the Sultán's will, they pitched upon a native of Rudshuk, named Seyed Mohammed Emín Behíj Efendí, (who had attained to the post of Khojakan, and was related to several persons of distinction,) disguising the true motives of his journey to Rudshuk, under the pretext of his being sent with the title of Básh Mohásib to farm out the revenue on the banks of the Danube.

This Efendí, proceeding with speed to Rudshuk, engaged Alemdár to accept the appointment, and having reported in writing to government the result of his mission, a regular patent conferring the rank of Vazír was forthwith despatched. Scarcely was this done, when the imperial army, moving from Constantinople, marched straight towards the Danube, and as men of penetration easily discerned how extremely useful Alemdár Páshá might render himself in supplying the camp with provisions and stores, the ministers of state used every art to attach him entirely to their party. With this view, Alemdár Páshá's Kehiyá, Abubekr Aghá, and the aforesaid Behíj Efendí, went to Adrianople, to meet and salute the imperial head-quarters on their arrival in that city. In order to facilitate the transacting of his affairs,

and inspire him with confidence, Abubekr Aghá was made a Kapújí Báshí, receiving the rank of Mirakhor (equerry), and Behíj Efendí sent back to Rudshuk with the employment of chief collector of the revenue. Being thus gratified with so many and such considerable marks of favour from the government, and his allegiance, as well as his personal safety, appearing to be completely secured, Alemdár Páshá put in motion five or six thousand good troops, and encamping at Pravadi, paid his respects to the assembled ministers, and was received with a degree of honour calculated to set his mind at rest regarding any suspicion of foul play. As he was charged to furnish the camp with necessary supplies, in order still more to confirm the good understanding that prevailed, the diploma of Serasker was bestowed upon him, and he returned towards Rudshuk, while the imperial army marched in the direction of Silistria. The affairs of the Porte being in this flourishing posture, when the Serasker Páshá had re-entered Rudshuk with fitting pomp, and the imperial army was descending to the plain of Silistria, intending to encamp there, a very short space of time elapsed, before the Sultán's deposition, followed by the unfortunate downfall of Ibráhím Páshá,* threw the ministers into great perplexity, and the defeat of Charkhají Alí Páshá, augmented the confusion to such a degree, that all trace of

* Grand Vazír of Sultán Selim.

order was lost, all reverence towards the government at an end, and consternation became universal. The troops sent an invitation to the Páshá, which he readily accepted, and as his arrival gave the mountaineers an ascendancy* in the camp, and re-established a certain degree of discipline, he sat in his tent full of arrogance, and supposing that none but he was worthy of being made Grand Vazír, waited in expectation of the seals being transmitted to him. When they were given to Chelebí Mustafá Páshá, he felt indignant, and wishing at the commencement of a reign to show the people about the Sultán how formidable he was, and to wreak his vengeance on the new Grand Vazír, he began to oppress and drive out the lower classes of Rudshuk, alleging a scarcity and the difficulty of procuring provisions. Upon this, the new Vázir, finding it expedient to shift his quarters, left in camp the more infirm members of the divan, and, accompanied by some of the ministers and a few servants, rode to Adrianople, and there fixed his official residence.

Sultán Mustafá (on whom be the mercy and peace of God!) having been raised to the throne with indecent violence and precipitation, and being unable to fulfil the promises made to the soldiery, his hungry and naked supporters plundered the riches of the men of rank slain by the sword on his accession, and squandered

* Over the Janissaries.

sums equal in value to the treasure of Bádáver*, and amounting to fifty or sixty thousand purses, while the victorious pupils of Bektásh,† burning the veil of moderation with a fury like that of hell fire, put up to auction the effects of the ministers who had remained to conduct business in the capital. Thus the rage of the soldiery overcame the respect due to the crown, and their victory over the great men of the empire being complete, the abuses they committed both at Constantinople and in the camp were past all bearing, and their excesses reached to a pitch beyond which they could not go. As the actual possessor of the throne paid no attention to their proceedings, those villains were thus encouraged to extend and prolong their atrocious career, while the wise and peaceable portion of the community was utterly cast down and confounded. The difference between the former and the present state of things being too evident, those who were acquainted with the judicious administration and Plato-like wisdom of Sultán Selím, began to compare the advantages of his regular government, and the laudable fruits it produced, with the then unsettled condition of affairs, directed by a lawless armed banditti. The Janissaries, and other troops in the camp, reasoning together, and not condescending to obey any authority, were constantly an-

* One of the seven treasures which Oriental tradition assigns to Khosrú Parvíz, or Chosroes the Second, King of Persia.

† The Janissaries.

noying their chiefs with importunate demands for rations, and leave to quit the service; and as they were sure to prevail in these disputes, public affairs went more and more to ruin from day to day. On account of its being indispensably necessary to make use of Alemdár Páshá's influence in procuring supplies and managing the soldiery, the Sultán sent him courteous letters and splendid gifts, and the ministers of state wrote to him in very flattering terms, insinuating the probability of his being soon appointed Grand Vazír: at the same time they hypocritically dissembled the feeling of hatred which they bore towards him from the bottom of their hearts. Behíj Efendí, who hath been already spoken of, and who had gone to Rudshuk some time before these disgraceful events occurred, was a man greatly attached to Selím's government, to which he owed his elevation. Perfectly conversant in public business, and acquainted with the temper of the military, he from time to time, in the presence of Alemdár Páshá, expatiated on the good qualities of the deposed emperor, as well as the evils and disorders that had been caused by his dethronement; and he was supported by Tahsín Efendí, (his former Mektúbjí*,) who being under some apprehension, had fled to Alemdár Páshá, and accompanied him to Rudshuk. This Tahsín Efendí had been promoted during the French war, and admitted into the class of Khojakáns: he agreed in his discourse with

* Letter-writer—secretary.

Behíj Efendí, and both were strongly seconded by Seyed Abdallah Rámiz Efendí*, celebrated for the extent of his acquirements, who had enjoyed vast consideration under the reign of the deposed monarch, and held the office of Básh Mohásib. Immediately after Selím's deposition, the Sultán having expedited autograph rescripts enjoining the expulsion from the camp and exclusion from affairs of the dethroned emperor's partizans, Rámiz Efendí was involved in the common misfortune, and exiled to Kavallæ, in custody of a Chiaoush.

Arriving at Philippopolis in the course of his journey, he there fell in with Ahmed Kehiyá, and being through his intervention taken under the protection of Alemdár Páshá, proceeded to Rudshuk, while the Chiaoush was indignantly dismissed. As he was distinguished for learning and piety, the Páshá received him with all due honour, and admitted him to his intimacy. By recapitulating the events that had lately happened, describing the triumph of the Janissaries, the deplorable weakness of the government, the pollutions which, with Mustafá's assent, had been offered to the sacred banner, and by dwelling, with the melody of a nightingale, on the virtues of Sultán Selím, he laboured to instil into Alemdár Páshá's mind a coolness towards the new sovereign

* Rámiz Efendí subsequently became Kapudán Páshá. On the death of Mustáfa Bairakdár, he fled to Russia, and resided at Odessa. The Sultán having allured him to return to Turkey, he was massacred near Bucharest in 1815, by the orders of that prince, and the troops of Karaja, Hospodar of Wallachia.

and his infamous adherents, and he continually recurred to the same topics, drawing conclusions to prove the justness of his reasoning. Meanwhile, after the misfortune that befel the Ághá Páshá * in the camp, Mustafá Refík Efendí attached himself to the men of Rudshuk, and found means through the agency of certain dissemblers to get in amongst them. Thus a numerous body of Sultán Selím's partizans sat quietly under Alemdár Páshá's sheltering wing, and meditated a fresh revolution and deposition, by which they might break the strength of the soldiery.

However, this vast project required extreme prudence, because the power of the Janissaries, infecting and pervading the empire like a contagious leprosy, had cowed men's minds, insomuch that the bulk of the people inclining towards Sultán Mustafá, deserted the cause of Sultán Selím. This was natural enough, since recent events required caution, and the deposed Sultán, destitute of friends, was shut up within the four walls of his solitary residence; wherefore several persons, perceiving that even the mention of his name exposed them as butts to the shafts of destruction, were obliged to have recourse to deceit and dissimulation. Amongst these was Mustafá Refík Efendí, who, by flattering the persons that surrounded the possessor of the throne, and writing separately to the different ministers letters full

* The Páshá commanding the Janissaries; he was cut in pieces by his soldiers.

of sweet expressions of devotion and loyalty, displayed a degree of satanic cunning, equal to that of Ebn Abí Jellal, or of Eblís himself: having thus gained the confidence of Sultán Mustafá's court, he, pretending an anxious desire to visit his family, set out for Constantinople. On his arrival there towards the end of the month of Sha'bán, he penetrated into the very veins and sinews of those about the Sultán, and insinuated himself into the good graces of Nezír Ághá, the deputy of the treasury, Selím Ághá, the lieutenant of the treasury, and the Básh Chokadár (first gentleman of the chamber), Fetah Ághá. Being a perfect master of duplicity, and the art of handling difficult questions, he, in his private conversations with them, continually represented that the violence and insolence of the unbridled Janissaries gaining ground daily, and oppressing the friends of government, the Sultán's authority was torn from him; that to the great detriment and dishonour of the state, a mean low Chorbají * had been allowed to meddle in the appointment of Sheikhs, and such like important affairs, which in the Sultán's stead were now consigned to the management of soldiers; and that a parcel of worthless and pernicious vagabonds was suffered to occupy the seat of the Sheikh ul Islám, and to decide on matters of conscience appertaining to the faith.

After lamenting the existence of these calamities, he suggested that the sole cure for them was to bring

* Inferior officers of the Janissaries

Alemdár Páshá to Constantinople: enlarging upon that Páshá's loyalty, the affliction with which he beheld the tribulations of government, and his ardent desire to relieve the Sultán from the scum that encompassed him. When, by discussing at length the utility of the proposed measure, he had conciliated the minds of the courtiers towards Alemdár Páshá, he employed the fascinating elegance of his pen in drawing up a written memorial to the same effect. The three personages above alluded to, presented in a body this paper to the emperor, so that for the present the influence of the corps was crushed, and many other persons were drawn into the scheme. In order to conceal this project as long as possible, a show was made of withdrawing the emperor's favour from its secret abettors, and Refík Efendí was hastily despatched upon a mission to the camp. After he had obeyed the order for going thither, Músá Páshá was relieved from the office of Káim-makám, and Tayyár Páshá was in his stead elevated to that post on the wing of adversity. As the wicked and covetous disposition of the latter was sufficiently notorious, his unfitness for managing business, and his bad feeling towards Sultán Selím, became a source of anxiety and disquietude to the party at Rudshuk, who, conceiving his speedy disposition to be absolutely necessary to the success of their designs, had recourse to Refík Efendí's cunning, and wrote him pressing letters.

He immediately set about sowing dissention between

the Grand Vazír and Káim-makám, and got Zembíl Kessehdár's son, Abdulb kí Efendí, (who from the class of Karjís had been promoted to that of Khojakáns,) to draw up and forward to Constantinople a remonstrance from the corps of Janissaries,* demanding the Káim-makám's disgrace. Besides this, Abdulbákí Efendí undertook a journey to court, and laboured in the field of intrigue with so much address, that he succeeded in his object of effecting Tayyár Páshá's removal from the office of Káim-makám, which, together with that of intendant of the posts, was given to Ekenlú Mustafá Efendí. When Abdulbákí Efendí had terminated this business, he returned with speed to the imperial camp, and, as a reward for the service he had performed, was appointed Kuchuk Terzkerejí; the arrows of his hopes thus reaching the mark they were shot at. The ministers of state being entangled as in a net by the wiles of Refík Efendí, Alemdár Páshá and his associates were looking out for some other clever man fit to be entrusted with any delicate commission conducive to the furtherance of their objects.

Meanwhile, the coolness betwixt the Grand Vazír and Alemdár went on increasing, and the former, careless about the probability of his own disgrace, invited to Adrianople some insignificant persons, such as Yelik Oghlú, Giáúr Hasan, and the Nárgír of Ibraíl begged their assistance, and striking up a league against the

* The division of Janissaries in the Vazír's camp.

powerful Alemdár Páshá; with these weak men, who pretended to be strong, gave them a commission to besiege him.* The Páshá and his associates being apprised of that fact by Refík Efendí's correspondence, marched out of Rudshuk at the head of about ten thousand men, and, under pretence of a hunting match, advanced straight towards Adrianople. As Providence favoured them, and Alemdár moved with the rapidity of a falcon, and the perseverance of a hunter pursuing his prey, this step caused the ears of the ministers to tingle, and made their brains dizzy. The people in the camp were at first astonished and dismayed, and the court thrown into such consternation, that the Emperor, the asylum of purity, being stupified and deprived of sleep and rest, tolerated the mention of flight, and in the course of one night, the Sheikh-ul-Islám and the Káimmakâm were twice summoned to the imperial palace.

Alemdár Páshá's movement evidently indicating danger, they, when consulted, spoke in very obscure and unintelligible terms, savouring of fear and weakness, and suitable to the event, whatever it might be. Since Alemdár's power and the impossibility of the Grand

* Yelik Oghlú, a native of Rudshuk, and an outlaw, was afterwards put to death. Giáúr Hasan, so called from the favour he showed the Christians, was Ayán of Rasgrad: he rebelled and lost his head in 1816. The Názir of Ibraíl, Delhí Ahmed, celebrated for his vigorous defence of that fortress against the Russians, became grand vazir in 1810, and next year sustained (at Slobodia) a total defeat from Kutousoff.

Vazír's resisting him were well known, it appeared that great mischief was likely to result from the invitation given to Yelik Oghlú, and the others which had inflamed his choler, and caused him to sally forth from Rudshuk under colour of going to the chase, and to advance in hunting guise upon Adrianople with canine impetuosity. The disembling ministers, who were in Alemdár's interest, wrote to the Sultán letters full of complaints, stating that he (the Páshá) had taken the bit in his teeth like a runaway horse, which could not be stopped but by cutting in before him, and with such terrible and menacing expressions purposely exaggerated the danger. Immediately, the Emperor commanded that those persons in the imperial camp who were odious to Alemdár, should be driven away, and, that his wrath might at any price be averted, a very strong and rigorous autograph rescript was addressed to the Grand Vazír, ordering him to send Yelik Oghlú and the rest to join Hakkí Páshá at the straits.* While every method was tried to appease the Páshá, Refík Efendí, who had completely worked his way into the Grand Vazír's confidence, suggested that for the purpose of hindering Alemdár from obtaining the mastery, and gaining a pernicious victory over the government, one of the ministers ought to be despatched with instructions to negotiate an accommodation. This advice being approved, he recommended his intimate friend and confederate,

* The straits of the Dardanelles, where Hakkí Páshá commanded.

Behíj Efendí, as being perfectly well adapted for conducting such a mission, and thus he set open the bázár of calamity. As Behíj Efendí pretended to refuse the appointment, that his feigned reluctance might be overcome, he was assured of finding a recompense in the Sultán's boundless favour, and the foolish Vazír, supposing his resistance to be real, fell to supplicating, and was joined by Refík Efendí, who after a thousand entreaties induced him to accept the commission upon a promise of being nominated defterdár.

After passing one night with Alemdár, Behíj Efendí rode back to Adrianople, announced that he had wrought upon his better nature, and as a reward for his own services, received the diploma of defterdár. He then alleged a necessity of going to Constantinople, and on arriving at the seat of government, was, through certain go-betweens, admitted to secret conferences with Nezír Aghá, Fetáh Aghá, and Selím Aghá. In this private conclave, he spoke in the same sense with Refík Efendí, dwelling at great length upon the zeal of Alemdár Páshá, and the indignation he felt at the negligence which prevailed, and the grievous annoyance to which the noble young prince upon the throne was exposed day and night. He said that the Páshá, unable to contain himself in his Diván kháneh, enjoyed neither sleep nor rest, for thinking that a set of arrogant villains had taken in hand the affairs of government, and that several of the Ulemá and ministers had availed themselves of

the opportunity afforded by the mutinous ascendancy of the troops, to throw off their allegiance, and make the court drink to the dregs the cup of their tyranny, by interfering in such matters as the deposition of the Sheikh-ul-Islám,* and similar functionaries; that he cited morever, as an example of insubordination, what had recently happened in the case of the Segbán Báshí Mustafá Aghá,† and the instance of a base low knave, named Kabákjí, who, although previously starving, and reduced to the last shifts for his daily subsistence, had suddenly become the chief of a faction, and an Ághá, like those represented in the pantomime of Kara Gúz,‡ and now never rested, but blew up as a bellows the fire of confusion. That he (the Páshá) considered it a thing not to be borne, that the poor subjects should be exposed to the ravages of their enemies; and that while our lord the Sultán, powerful as Alexander, had so many slaves who picked up the crumbs that fell from his table, he should be controlled by a gang of scoundrels neither fearing God nor regarding the prophet, and be unable to disgrace at his pleasure a Sheikh-ul-Islám; a circumstance which would lay his servants open to vituperation, not only from the tongues of contemporaries, but even the pens of annalists. That while they were out waiting for orders to relieve themselves from such a load of

* Sultán Mustafá had disgraced the Sheikh-ul-Islám, but the Janissaries obliged him to cancel the act.

† Massacred by the Janissaries. ‡ The Turkish Punchinello.

shame, a negotiation had through the good offices of mediators been set on foot with Russia, and both parties seemed inclined to conclude a peace; but that now the Russians hung back, and when the reason was required, asked in reply, "Shall we make a treaty with Kabákjí Ághá, or enter into stipulations with so weak a government, whose dignity is insulted in the person of the Grand Vazír, and which is carried away by the levity of worthless perturbators?" The Páshá (he added) had declared, that if our gracious sovereign would give him permission, and retract the favour he had shown towards that rabble, he was ready to march from Rudshuk at the head of five or six thousand men, and deliver the Sublime Porte from those arrogant soldiers, who had roasted the world's liver in the flames of adversity; and even if our Lord put him to death, he was content to be sacrificed so that the state found repose, and order was restored and preserved.

After he had in this manner depicted the Páshá's burning zeal and affection towards the monarchy, that precious rogue Feták, throwing off the disguise which covered his villainy, spoke as follows:—

"Since his Excellency the Páshá is so well disposed towards our clement sovereign, and anxious to re-establish good order, it will be proper to begin the work by making away with Sultán Selím." Behíj Efendí, horror-struck at the idea of the catastrophe alluded to, nevertheless not wishing to excite suspicion, exerted himself to

put on an air of indifference, and calmly observed: "that although the removal of Sultán Selím might be conducive to the safety and tranquillity of the prince whom they were serving, and of his adherents, and although the dispositions of the people of Constantinople, the troops, the Ayáns of Rúmelia, and the Páshás, were clearly hostile to the dethroned monarch, yet they ought to consider that he was now helpless and harmless. That besides, his destruction would be attended with perilous and unpleasant consequences, because the great and virtuous Emperor of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been on a footing of intimate correspondence with him, would in such a case break off his alliance, and neglect the conclusion of the treaty now pending with Russia; and that his ambassador at the Porte, Sebastiani, had officially expressed, in conferences, the emperor's resentment, and declared that if anything worse happened to that Sultán, his master would consider it a breach of the friendship subsisting betwixt himself and the sublime government. That moreover, after a happy reign of nineteen years, the deposed prince had thousands of partizans, and therefore it would be prudent to abandon that design for the present, since when a proper time arrived, there was no doubt some among the Páshás would be found ready to execute such a piece of service."

Having by a repetition of artful speeches like the above, diverted his confederates from that nefarious pro-

ject, he next made an impression upon their minds by representing that, if, in this moment of turmoil and confusion, they rejected the offers of a strong and resolute servant of our gracious sovereign, who stood up in his defence, it would be a source of endless disgrace and repentance. A question being then introduced how they might effectually ensure success, he remarked, that the accomplishment of their scheme was easy, provided they maintained a strict silence on the subject, but that all was lost if the Janissaries got a clue to trace the thread of their machinations. When they had bound themselves to secrecy with solemn oaths, he proposed that they should address a letter in their own names to Alemdár Páshá; that no imperial rescript should be forwarded, but that he (Behíj) would, with their leave, write to the Páshá to join the camp, and seize a favourable opportunity of marching from thence upon Constantinople. That if (as was probable) those who were now masters should ask any questions, the Sultán might satisfy them, by swearing he had not sent any rescript; that if others, who had not perspicuity enough to see through the matter, formed a disadvantageous opinion, and disapproved the measure, they nevertheless would not compromise themselves, by engaging in any disorders; that although, without doubt, some well-wishers to government would endeavour to instil indignation into the breast of our gracious sovereign, and to fan the flame of his wrath, yet he ought not to listen to them, but rather

to appease them with reasoning, and discreet words. The plot being thus cunningly devised, Feṭáh Ágha began by writing (stating that he had the Emperor's permission so to do), while Behíj Efendí, quitting the court, and repairing to Adrianople with a fair pretext derived from his office of defterdar, established there the centre of his intrigues, and communicated every circumstance to Refík Efendí; both of them then wrote in concert to Rámiz Efendí, explaining at length the actual state of affairs, and likewise forwarded the letter in question (that of Feṭáh Aghá) to Alemdár Páshá, whom by sundry arts they tried to allure to the camp. They spread a multitude of false reports, insinuating that the truce with Russia being now expired, and the relations of the porte with Servia assuming a very perplexed and disagreeable aspect, a reinforcement of troops was absolutely necessary; that whatever elements of strength existed in the army were exhausted, and if things went on thus, the result would be fatal. After they had in this way effectually frightened the Grand Vazír, there arose a sudden rumour, that Alemdár Páshá, accompanied by the Ayáns in alliance with him, had issued out of Rudshuk in warlike guise, like a star illuminating the horizon, and was at the head of several thousand valiant soldiers, making a progress through the towns and villages within his jurisdiction. His associates, hearing this news, immediately gave out that Alemdár

Páshá had left this city, and was advancing towards them with an imposing force; they added that if he was invited to the imperial head quarters, and a conference held with him regarding the posture of the war and the condition of the army, the best consequences would ensue. This idea meeting with general approbation, and the Grand Vazír being obliged to consent whether he would or no, a letter of invitation was drawn up, and despatched from his office to the Páshá, who eagerly obeyed the summons, speedily arrived at Adrianople, and, pitching his tent in front of that city, was saluted and complimented in the most amicable manner by the Grand Vazír and the ministers. Conferences being then held respecting the state of the war, they considered that since, owing to the dilatory proceedings of the French, the negotiation for peace was spun out to a great length, and the period of the armistice undefined, it was but folly to allow the enemy to gain time; and that their stay at Adrianople caused a ruinous waste of the goods of the true believers, and necessarily brought upon its inhabitants an expense of above a thousand purses.* Behíj and Refík, and all those of their party unanimously declared, that as the difficulty of procuring money, and the inutility of prolonging their sojourn at Adrianople were evident to all the world, it would be

* A purse is equivalent to 500 piastres.

clearly better to go to Constantinople, and restore order there; proving with many cogent arguments the advantages of such a step, and the good effects it would produce.

" We will (said they) move all together in one body upon the capital; if the treaty which is now in hand be concluded, it is well; otherwise, after settling affairs at court, we will again raise the holy banner."

As their reasons carried conviction, and none was able to withstand the universal opinion, the council forthwith resolved, that in the course of a few days the movement should take place. Alemdár Páshá declaring that he had long wished to see his sovereign, and rub his forehead in the dust of the Sultán's feet, and proposing to go with them, and have the honour of prostrating himself before the throne, the principal men in the camp readily assented. Reflecting, that if they demanded leave to move, it would be incumbent upon them to apply to government for a written permission, and that although the Emperor, the asylum of purity, might be aware of their design, yet the Ulemá and the lieutenants of Janissaries outside of the camp would probably get wind of it, and coalesce to throw obstacles in the way, they determined to dispense with the formality of asking leave; and to prevent any intelligence from transpiring at court before their arrival, by detaching men in advance to intercept all communication, their plan was, to leave their baggage at Adrianople, and set-

ting out lightly equipped, to despatch, when they reached Chorli,* an intimation in writing of their approach to the capital by the hands of Hají Alí of Baghdad, a Hassekí (private servant) of the Sultán, who, having been sent out in disguise on a particular mission, came to Adrianople early in the morning, and instantly turning back, rode with great speed from Chorli to Constantinople, and delivered the letter on Thursday the 20th day of Jemází ul Evvel.

Immediately the Sheikh-ul-Islám, and the Káim-makám were summoned to the imperial palace, and the event imparted to them. This alarming occurrence being soon divulged, and considered much worse if it proceeded from a spontaneous movement, and not in consequence of an order, they (the Shiekh-ul-Islám, and Káim-makám) enquired whether the emperor's permission had been obtained. As the Sultán, in conformity to the previous arrangement, closely shrouded himself behind a veil of dissimulation, and denied, with oaths, having written a rescript, the principal Ulemá, as well as the chiefs of the militia and officers of Janissaries, were called together, and after the ordinance for their convocation had been read, were desired to present a report touching the meaning of these movements, and for that purpose invited to assemble again next day (being Friday), at the residence of the Sheikh-ul-Islám. The members of

* Chorli (the ancient Turullus) is a town in Thrace, about half way between Adrianople and Constantinople.

this council were divided in opinion, but finally concluded that the cause of their being summoned related to the decapitation of the above-mentioned Kabákjí, which had occurred some days before.* When, in the midst of dispute and contradiction, they learned (contrary to all expectation) the return of the imperial army, accompanied by Alemdár Páshá, and the fact of its being encamped outside, they were struck with dismay, as though the wrath of heaven had fallen upon them, each having some particular apprehension, while the whole were in a frenzy. Some asserted that the troops had returned by virtue of a royal rescript; others suggested the necessity of levying forces and repelling them; a few proposed to block up the gates of Constantinople, and hinder their entrance, and a party insisted that the fraudulent connivance of several members of the government had emboldened the army to take this petulant step contrary to the Sultán's will. The difficulty was this, that the ministers, putting on a show of legality and probity, (with a rosary in their hands and a toothpick in their girdles,) outwardly attentive to fasting and prayer, but inwardly bestriding negligence and tyranny, making the battlements of piety a curtain to cover their treachery, had, according to their hypocrisy, engaged cordially to support each other; and it was notorious

* Kabákjí, having been appointed governor of the castles at the entrance of the Black Sea, was surprised and slain by a detachment of Alemdár Páshá's troops.

that Feṭáh Ágha had promised Seyed Alí,* that if there was any question of his disgrace, he would protect him. The said Seyed Alí, having been educated in the cantonment of Western Jezáir, (Algiers)† had drawn together a band of longswords and desperate ruffians, and presuming that the majesty of the empire centered in his own creatures and satellites, acted as the Sultán's champion and confidential adviser. For this reason, when the Grand Vazír urged the propriety of his deposition, the Sultán was averse to it, and sent word to the Vazír to let him alone, saying, "He was a pious man:" thus he kept his place. Those, however, who were associated in the secret conspiracy, perceiving their plans would not suit the interest of the Kapudán Páshá, earnestly pressed for his disgrace; so that the Grand Vazír, being confused and disconcerted, (like a dog between two villages,) sent Alemdár Páshá a message to the following import: "There is no longer any cause for your remaining here, therefore please to turn back; you shall be informed in what an effectual manner I will execute our compact by suppressing the mutineers." The other replied—"My return depends upon the termination of the affairs that brought us here, and the entire fulfilment of the well-understood conditions which exist between us." Both displayed in the discussion equal heat and obstinacy; besides which, the Grand Vazír began, through certain

* The then Kapudán Páshá.

† So called in opposition to Eastern Jezáir, or Mesopotamia.

hints and innuendos, to see darkly into the true object; the restoration of Sultán Selím. As this was utterly opposed to his inclination, fear almost threw him into a fever. Through the intervention of some courtiers, he despatched a written paper to the Sultán, who received it ill, and gave him a harsh and unfavourable answer.

The Vazír then summoning to his presence several leading personages about the court, disclosed the whole secret, telling them the crisis was urgent, and proposing that he should, by an imperial rescript, be authorized to smite with the sword of punishment Refík, Tahsín, Behíj, and their accomplices; to shut the gates of the capital, and repulse Alemdár by force of arms. He undertook, under favour of heaven, and with the Sultán's permission, to drive away the Páshá, and annihilate the rebels, provided he was allowed to advertise the corps of Janissaries and his own partisans; adding, that the least delay would be attended with ruinous consequences. Nezír Aghá, and the other pretended sages who surrounded the emperor, insisted that Alemdár Páshá was a faithful servant, and his power the right arm of the monarchy; while the Sultán himself, treating the Vazír's fears as groundless and absurd, taxed him with folly, and would not listen to his words. In vain that minister tore his bosom with clamour and outcries; a parcel of men, wise in their own conceit, railed at him with open mouths, and turned as deaf an ear as though he had called to the dead. While the Vazír was in deep dis-

tress, and lamented this incredulity, Refík Efendí and his associates, privately getting notice of the revelation he had made, wrote in haste to Rámiz Efendí, that if the projected movement was not pushed forward, all would be lost; whereupon Alemdár Páshá mounted his horse, on the 5th day of Jamazí ul Akhar, and followed by the Ayáns and troops he had with him, spurred directly to the audience-chamber of the Porte, and sitting there cross-legged,* deposed that luminary of the state, the Grand Vazír, and sent him prisoner, in custody of a Balúk Báshí, to the camp at Dáoud Páshá †.

* At his ease, as master.

† A summer palace of the Sultán's, just outside of Constantinople.

THE RITUAL

OF THE

BUDD'HIST PRIESTHOOD,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PÁLÍ WORK,

ENTITLED

KARMAWÁKYA,

BY

THE REV. BENJAMIN CLOUGH, C.M.R.A.S.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY IN CEYLON.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE title of this work is derived from *Karma*, "religious rites or ceremonies," and *wákya*, "speech, treatise," &c., and may be rendered "*The Ritual of the Budd'hist Priesthood.*"

The volume belongs to that class of the sacred writings of the *Budd'hists*, called the *wináyapitaka*, all of which relate exclusively to the priesthood. Very little is yet known by Europeans respecting these books, the priests having used every means to conceal them, from a jealousy, or rather a fear, of their contents coming under our investigation and criticism. Indeed, some of the volumes of the *wináyapitaka*, such as the *parájika*, are not allowed to be read, even by the *Budd'hist* laity; and when the priests themselves read them, it is generally in the temples, or *pansalas*, with closed doors, no other persons being pre-

sent. Of late years, however, many of the priests who possessed copies of works belonging to the *wináya* class have forsaken the *Budd'hist* system, and feeling no concern as to what became of the books, many of them have fallen into our hands; and thus, although many of those who adhere to their religion are as tenacious as ever on this point, I believe there is not a book extant in the island of Ceylon belonging to the *wináyapitaka*, which may not be obtained if an adequate price be offered.

The copy of the *Karmawákya*, from which the following translation has been made is in *Páli*, and must have been brought from the Burman empire, it being written in the *square* character, with the letters in relief upon a lacquered ground, and the pages neatly illuminated; a mode used in that country for the preservation of their sacred works. This character, which, as far as I am aware, is not used in any other country—it being, as appears to me, the circular letters of the common Burman alphabet squared a little, for the purpose of being more easily formed—is now generally denominated, especially by the

Oriental scholars on the continent, "*The ancient Páli character.*"

In attempting a translation of this work, great difficulty has been experienced from the want of a proper *atawáwa*, or scholium, such as generally accompanies the text of the *Buddʼhist* sacred works, and which, among other objects, is designed to supply the place of a lexicon. The language is technical, idiomatical, and abrupt, and the sentences are often very obscure; therefore, although to have made a literal translation would have been a comparatively easy task, it would yet have conveyed but little of the import of the original. Copies of it were transcribed and put into the hands of the native *pandits*, but all they were able to do was simply to render it word for word into *Elu*, in numberless instances retaining the *Páli* word untranslated, and in scarcely any giving the sense of the original.

It being a public formula, the sentences throughout are repeated. To translate these repetitions was unnecessary, and would have made the work even more uninteresting and tedious than it now is. In the original, the parts

of the sentences are so exactly proportioned, and the language is so beautiful and harmonious, that these repetitions add a dignity to the formula, which it is impossible to preserve in a translation. The *Karmawákya* is divided into seven chapters or sections, on the following subjects, viz.

1. The *upasampadá*, or ordination of a priest.
2. The investiture of a priest with the complete robe (consisting of three vestments).
3. The consecration of a site for the performance of the *Poyas*.
4. The bestowment of the *Kathina*.
5. The election of a *Théra*.
6. The assigning a name to a *Théra*.
7. The dedication of a temple.

TRANSLATION.

CHAP. I.

OF UPASAMPADÁ*,

(Ordination of a priest.)

THE *Sangha*† having assembled, the first thing to be observed is the election of an *upadd'hya*‡ (president or moderator). The next thing is the appointment of a

* *Upasampadá.* This word is found from *upa*, "again," *sam*, "completely," *padá*, "gone, obtained," &c., and signifies initiation into the *Budd'hist* priesthood by certain rites, it is therefore somewhat analogous to our word ordination. The novices or disciples are called *Srámaneraya*, and are distinguished from the ordained priests

† *Sangha.* An assembly of *Budd'hist* priests convened for some special and sacred purpose. No one below the rank of *Terunánse* can be a member of these convocations. In ordinary cases twenty priests are necessary to constitute a legal *sangha;* but in extraordinary cases five are sufficient.

‡ *Upajjhá.* From *upa*, near or intensely, *jjhá*, to think, to consider, &c. The name is frequently applied to a preceptor or spiritual teacher. In this place it is used to designate the president or moderator of the *sangha.* The person who is chosen to preside on these great occasions is supposed to be the most venerable for years, learning, and sanctity.

karmachári * (master of the ceremonies and interlocutor). These officers having been appointed, the in-

priests by the form of their dress (see Chap. II. of the translation). After ordination they are called *Terunánse*, on which see Chap. V, and the notes.

The question has lately been much disputed amongst the priests in Ceylon, whether the power of conferring *upasampadá* be not, according to the institutions of *Budd'hism*, restricted to certain privileged places, such as the city of Ava, in the Burman empire, and Kandy, in Ceylon, &c. The settlement of this question is too closely connected with the ambition and personal interests of the priests, or a portion of them, ever to be fairly decided among themselves. On the one side there may be the force of argument, founded on the principles of the system, but on the other hand, there is the power of ecclesiastical interest and influence, together with the force of established custom. Among those of the priests who oppose the opinion of the restricted administration of the ordinance of *upasampadá*, are the ablest and best informed, and it is very probable the most orthodox.

While BUDD'HA was alive, he exercised the exclusive right of ordaining his own priests. The case of his relative DEVADATTA is in point; on his demise he delegated that power to a *sangha*, or convocation of priests already in orders. In ordinary cases this *sangha* was to consist of a number of priests, not less than twenty; but in extraordinary or urgent cases, such as in countries thinly inhabited, or where the religion of BUDD'HA was not very prevalent, five priests might constitute a legal *sangha*. For an account of this see the opening paragraphs of the *Atawáwa*

to

* *Karmachári*. From *karma*, a religious ordinance, and *áchári*, master, &c., that is, the master of the ceremonies in a *sangha*; he also acts as the interlocutor, proposes the candidate, introduces him to the assembly, and questions him on the matters connected with the formula. The rubric, on the choice of a *karmáchári*, sets forth that he ought to be a learned and eloquent priest.

vestigation concerning the bowl and robes must then be made (as follows).

to the *Pratimóksha*. These ecclesiastical convocations might assemble in any place for the exercise of their functions, either in a city, town, village, or under a tree in the forest. For it was the *sangha* that sanctified the place, and not the place that legalized the *sangha*. Such was the state of things on the death of BUDD'HA. In after periods, when the system became the established religion of kingdoms and empires, and incorporated with the state, and was made to form a part in the administration of state affairs, the celebration of its ordinances underwent a material change. Hence it was that the rulers of those countries which embraced *Budd'hism*, appointed certain places for the administration of *upasampadá*, in order to add the greater dignity to the ceremony; and to effect this the more completely, they mixed up with it much royal pageantry, as is the practice in many *Budd'hist* countries at the present day. But he who knows anything of the real nature of the system, and will allow himself to take a candid and impartial view of the question, must see that such practices are an invasion of its simple and primitive rites. For the main object of *Budd'hism* is to make men ascetics, and to abstract the thoughts, passions, and affections from every mundane object; and, according to its tenets, the *summum bonum* of mankind consists in a total emancipation of the whole being from everything earthly. It might, therefore, be pressed upon the recollection of those priests who contend for the restricted administration of the ordinance of *upasampadá*, that they are upholding the corruptions of the system, while those who contend for the opposite view of the subject are the orthodox contenders for *Budd'hism*, in the form in which it was left by its founder. And although it is a matter on which strangers and foreigners ought to speak with hesitation, owing to their limited acquaintance with the subject; yet there can be little doubt, that there is not a village or hamlet in Ceylon, or in any other *Budd'hist* country, where a *sangha* can be convened, but may legally and constitutionally confer the rite of *upasampadá*.

Karmachári to the candidate—Is this thy bowl?*

Candidate. Yes, sir.

Kar. Is this thy *sanghate?*†

Can. Yes, sir.

Kar. Is this thy *uttárasanga*‡ (outer robe)?

Can. Yes, sir.

Kar. Is this thy *antárawásaka*§ (inner robe)?

Can. Yes, sir.

Karmachári (to the candidate). Go stand in that place! (To the assembly.) Let the reverend assembly hear me! *Nága* (the name of the candidate) wishes ordination of the venerable *Thera-Tissa.*‖ If then the time of the assembly be arrived, I will introduce *Nága.*

* "*The patra,*" or bowl. According to the ordinances of *Buddhism,* its priests must live by begging; hence the begging bowl or dish is an indispensable appendage of the priesthood, and is the subject of endless prescriptions in the various precepts of their religious code.

† *Sanghate.* In *Elu,* or Singhalese writings, rendered *sangalasiwura.* The complete robes or dress of a *Buddhist* priest, who has attained to *upasampadá,* consist of three different vestments. 1. The *sanghate,* or *sangalasiwura,* is a double or folded (*sangha* or *sangala* signifies double, or a pair, or anything joined,) cloth worn outermost, and covering both shoulders. It is the peculiar badge of a priest in full orders, the *srámaneraya,* or disciple, not being allowed to wear it.

‡ The *uttárasanga,* or upper garment, and worn outermost by a *srámaneraya,* or novice, usually passes over the left shoulder.

§ The *antárawásaka,* or inner cloth fastened round the waist; this is common to priests of all ranks.

‖ *Thera.* For an explanation of this epithet, see the chapter and notes on the election of a *Thera.* (Chap. V.)

Hear me, *Nága!* The time is now arrived when the truth must be declared by thee in the midst of this assembly. And if any impediments do exist, let them be confessed; if thou hast none, let it be declared. Be not embarrassed! Be not abashed! Thus will I question thee. Hast thou any of the following blemishes, that is to say—hast thou:—

1. The leprosy?

No, sir.

2. The *bronchocele* or *goitre?*

No, sir.

3. The scab, or any cutaneous disease?

No, sir.

4. Pulmonary consumption?

No, sir.

5. Epilepsy?

No, sir.

6. Art thou a man?*

Yes, sir.

7. Art thou a male?

Yes, sir.

8. Art thou a free-man?

Yes, sir?

* "*Art thou a man?*" That is, art thou not a sprite, or demon, or some illusory or supernatural being in human form?

This question refers to one of the standing ordinances of the *Budd'hist* priesthood, "that no kind of beings but men are to be ordained priests."

9. Art thou free from debt?

Yes, sir.

10. Art thou not a king's soldier?

No, sir.

11. Hast thou received permission of thy father and mother?

Yes, sir.

12. Hast thou completed twenty years of age?

Yes, sir.

13. Art thou furnished with a bowl and robes?

Yes, sir.

14. What is thy name?

My name, sir, is *Nága*.

15. What is the name of thy *upádd'hya?** (the president of the assembly, who nominally confers *upasampadá*).

My *upádd'hya's* name, sir, is the venerable *Thera-Tissa!*

Karmachári (to the assembly). Let the reverend assembly hear me! *Nága* requests ordination through the

* "*What is thy upájjha's name?*" When *upasampadá* is conferred on a priest it is the act of a *sangha*. But so important is the office of *upájjha* in the transactions of these assemblies, that he in fact is supposed to confer the privilege which the rite itself guarantees. Hence, if an ordained priest be asked from whom he received *upasampadá*, he does not say from such a *sangha*, but from such an *upájjha*, or president; and so important is it for the candidate to be certain at the time of his ordination of the exact name of the moderator, as well as to remember it afterwards, that should he ever forget the name or miscall it, his ordination becomes invalid.

venerable *Thera-Tissa;* he has been prepared (instructed in the initiatory rites of this ordinance) by me!* If then the assembly be complete (*i. e.* if the appointed number, twenty priests, be present) shall I bid *Nága* advance?

Upádd'hya. Command him to advance.

Nága. Reverend assembly, I request ordination! Let the reverend assembly out of compassion land me!† (This is thrice repeated.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me! This *Nága* requests ordination through the venerable

* "*He has been prepared by me,*" &c. It will be observed that throughout the ceremony there is no examination as to the qualifications of the candidate, attention having been given to such inquiries on other occasions. The disciple first attaches himself to a *gúrú*, or *terunanse*, who presides over a *viháru*, or temple, and *pansala*, the residence of a community of priests, and where youths are prepared for the priesthood. This *gúrú* recommends his pupil to an examining *sangha*, where he undergoes an examination on the subject of all necessary qualifications, and if he pass his examination in this *sangha*, he is then recommended to one appointed to confer *upasampadá*, on which occasion he only receives the rite of initiation.

† "*Let the reverend assembly land me,*" &c. This request of the candidate is founded on a doctrine of *Budd'hism*, that *nirvána*, or final emancipation, is only to be attained through the priesthood. In the writings of the *Budd'hists*, existence (which in any state, even from that of a god to that of a reptile, is a curse) is constantly compared to the ocean. Hence, to be at sea, or on the ocean, a phrase so frequent in *Budd'hist* writings, means to be still in a state of transmigration. To be put into the priesthood, therefore, means to be put on shore, or put into the direct road to *nirvána*, or extinction of being.

Thera-Tissa. If the assembly be complete, I will question *Nága* respecting the impediments (to his obtaining *upasampadá).* Hear me, *Nága.* (Here the interlocutor proposes the questions on impediments, as given before, to which the candidate replies as already stated.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me! This *Nága* desires ordination through the venerable *Thera-Tissa;* he is free from impediments, his bowl and robes are complete; and *Nága* requests ordination of the assembly through the venerable *Thera-Tissa.* If the assembly be complete, shall *Nága* be ordained through the venerable president *Thera-Tissa?* (This is thrice repeated.)

Karmachári. Thus the candidate has been proposed. If any reverend one assents to the ordination of *Nága* through the venerable president *Thera-Tissa,* let him be silent. Whoever does not assent, let him now speak. (This part of the formula is thrice repeated, when *Karmachári* proceeds:) *Nága* is ordained by this reverend assembly through the venerable president *Thera-Tissa!* From the assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

The end of the formula of *upasampadá.*

Then follow the ordinances to be observed by the ordained priest, which are delivered to him by the master of the ceremonies or interlocutor, *Karmachári.* Namely:—

The *avach'chha.**

The seasons.†

The divisions of the day.‡

The (ecclesiastical) convocations.§

The four *nessáyas*.

* "*Avach'chha*" is solar refraction, or the difference between real and apparent time as measured by the sun's altitude, when reflected by shadows on the ground. This is the only method which a priest can adopt to ascertain the hour of the day; and correctness in such calculations is of much importance, as all diurnal transactions are regulated by it; but especially the exact moment for taking their meals.

† "*The seasons*," &c. The *Budd'hist* priests divide the year into three seasons, viz.:—The rainy, the hot, and the cold seasons. During the first, they are directed to attend to *waswasana*, which means, to sojourn in the villages for the purpose of instructing householders; in the second, they are to reside at the roots of trees,‖ to have the advantages of silent and profound meditation; in the third, they are to occupy *pansalas*, and for mutual instruction and reading the *bána* to the people.

‡ "*The divisions of the day*," &c. This simply refers to the time appointed when the priests are authorised to eat.

§ "*The convocations*," &c. The *sangitas*, or convocations of the priests, are directed to be frequently held. This *Pali* word is from a root which signifies to sing, or to sound, in the way the natives do when they read their books. From which it appears that the principal objects in those assemblies is, to read the *bána* to each other, but particularly to read and expound the *Wináya* books. See the introductory remarks.

‖ "*Residing at the root of a tree*," &c. In the code referred to in the last note, it is ordained that the priests reside in forests at the roots of trees, and not in houses of any kind: hence the epithet so common in *Budd'hist* writings where the priests are referred to, *abhyávakásika*, "he whose only covering (or canopy) is the heavens."

The four great crimes.

The four *nessáyas* are as follows, namely : —

1st. By becoming a *pabbajá*, thou engagest to live by begging. This ordinance thou must observe to the end of life. Hence the following things are superfluities :—

1. Food given in common to the priesthood.*
2. Food given on particular occasions.
3. Food given on invitation by householders.
4. Food distributed by lot.
5. Food given on the halves of the moon.
6. Food given on the quarters of the moon.
7. Food given on the day after the new or full moon.

They are, sir.

* " *Food given in common,*" &c. It is contrary to the ordinances of the *Buddhist* priesthood to eat anything except what has been given by the people on the principle of religious charity.

There are seven ways in which this food is obtained. The first, or common food, is that which is collected in the course of the mornings by the *Srámanarayas*, or disciples, belonging to any particular *pansala*, or such as is carried by the villagers in the morning, and offered at the doors of the *pansalas*, when they visit the *vihára*, or temple, to make their worship to the images. The food given by lot is such as when a householder, under any particular circumstances, as on a festival occasion, &c. provides an extra quantity of provisions, he divides it into portions which he designs for special purposes, and then casts lots to determine of their appropriation, never failing to give the priesthood the advantage of a cast. The other five kinds of food are sufficiently explicit and require no note. The spirit of this precept is, that every proper priest ought to attain to so high a degree of asceticism and abstraction from sensual enjoyments, that he should never ask or seek for food, but be content whether it be brought to him or not.

2nd. On becoming a *pabbajá*, thou engagest to wear a robe made of rags.* This ordinance thou must observe to the end of life. Therefore the following things are superfluities :—

1. Temples.
2. *Ardd'hyayógas.*
3. Palaces.
4. Mansions.
5. Caves.

They are, sir.

3rd. On becoming a *pabbajá*, thou engagest to use the medicament of cow's urine.† This ordinance thou must observe to the end of life. Hence the following things are superfluities :—

1. *Ghí*, (clarified butter.)
2. Fresh butter.
3. Oil.
4. Honey.

* "*Robe of rags.*" It is one of the *telesdutángas*, or thirty-two ordinances of the *Budd'hist* priesthood, that these robes must be made of the rags found in burying-places, cemeteries, &c. which have been stripped from dead bodies before interment or burning.

† "*Cow's urine*," &c. This is supposed by most of the Eastern nations to be a very efficacious medicament. The *Budd'hists*, however, do not attribute the same wonderful properties to it which the *Hindús* do. By them it is used chiefly on account of its cheapness, and it is hence regarded as the medicine of the poorest and lowest classes of the people. The priests are directed to use it for the same reason.

5. The juice of the sugar-cane.

They are, sir.

4th. The four crimes which cause the irrevocable excommunication of a priest are as follows :—

1. A priest who has been ordained cannot indulge in sexual intercourse, no, not even with animals.

If any priest indulge in sexual intercourse, he is not a son of SÁKYA,* he is no longer a priest; and as it is impossible to re-animate a body that has been decapitated, so the priest who indulges in sexual intercourse is not a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. Thou must as long as thou livest abstain from this crime.

I promise, sir.

2. A priest who has been ordained must not steal, even so much as a blade of grass. If any priest steal a *páda*, (a dollar, say the *pandits*,) or any thing of the value of a *páda*, or above that value, he is not a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. As the withered leaf, after being plucked from the twig, can never recover its verdure, so the priest who steals a *páda*, or anything of the value of a *páda* or upwards, cannot be a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. As long as thou livest thou must not commit this crime.

I promise, sir.

3. A priest who has been ordained must not knowingly deprive any animal of life, not even an insect, as

* "*Son of* SÁKYA." SÁKYA is one of the epithets or names of BUDD'HA; his priests are called his sons.

an ant, &c. The priest who deprives a human being of life, even by causing abortion, is not a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. As the rent mountain can never be re-united, so the priest who deprives a human being of life is not a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. As long as thou livest thou must not commit this crime.

I promise, sir.

4. A priest who has been ordained must not make unfounded pretensions to the possession of *uttáramánúshyad'harma*, (the highest of all human attainments, namely, the state of a *rháhat*;) he must not even so much as presume to say, I claim to live in an unoccupied (solitary) house. If the priest whose nature is depraved, and who delights in sin, who has not attained to *uttáramánúshyad'harma*, pretend to attainments which he possesses not, neither has obtained, such as *jhána*, (profound meditation,) *vimokk'ha*, (emancipation from passion,) *sámad'hi*, (perfect tranquillity,) *sámapatte*, (the results or enjoyments of the above attainments,) *maggo*, (*i. e.* the path to *nirvána*,) *p'halá*, (the fruits of that path,) he is no longer a priest. As it is impossible for the palm-tree ever to revive after the top has been cut off, so the priest whose nature is depraved, and who delights in sin, and makes unfounded pretensions to *uttáramánúshyad'harma*, is not a son of SÁKYA, he is no longer a priest. This crime thou must not commit to thy life's end.

I promise, sir.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE INVESTITURE OF AN ORDAINED PRIEST WITH THE COMPLETE ROBE.

(This ceremony is performed in a *Sangha*, or a legally constituted assembly of the priests—The actors, &c. being the same as enumerated at the head of the first Chapter, it is unnecessary again to repeat them.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me! It is appointed by the *Sangha*, that an ordained priest (one who has obtained *upasampadá*,) has the privilege to wear the three robes.

If the assembly be complete, they will authorize the priest to wear the three robes.

Such is the formula.

(Here the priest is presented to the assembly by the interlocutor for investiture, his name, &c. being announced.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The assembly will now authorize the priest . . . . . to wear the three robes. (This is thrice repeated.)

Karmachári. Does any venerable one assent to the priest . . . . . being authorized to wear the three robes, let him be silent.

Does any venerable one not assent, let him now speak.

The assembly authorizes the priest . . . . . to wear the three robes.

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CONSECRATION OF A SITE FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE POYAS*.

(This ceremony, as in the former cases, is performed by a *Sangha*, who proceed to the spot, the same persons conducting the ceremonies.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

Every enclosed spot where the community perform the *poya* ceremonies, &c. must be consecrated by a *Sangha.*

If the assembly be complete, they will consecrate the area (to be specified).

This is the formula.

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

Every enclosed spot where the community perform the *poya* duties must be consecrated by a *Sangha.* The assembly will now consecrate the area. Does any

* "*Poya*," the *Elu* form of the *Pali* term *uposat'hia*, a fast; the fasts observed at the four quarters of the moon.

venerable one assent to the consecration of the area . . . . . where the community perform the *poya* duties, let him be silent.

Does any one object, let him now speak.

The enclosed spot, where the community perform the *poya* duties, is consecrated by the assembly.

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

Karmachári. What is the boundary on the east?

A stone, sir.

That stone is the boundary.

(The same question is proposed, and the same answer given respecting the other three points, and the four intermediate points.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

When the boundaries are declared all round, if the assembly be complete, they will constitute the area within those boundaries a place for the community to perform the *poya* duties.

Such is the formula.

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

When the boundaries all round have been declared, the assembly will consecrate the area contained within those boundaries a place for the community to perform the *poya* duties.

Does any venerable one assent to the consecration of the area contained within these boundaries a place for the community to perform the *poya* duties, let him be silent.

Does any one object, let him now speak.

The area within these boundaries is consecrated by the assembly as a place for the community to perform the *poya* duties.

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

Every enclosed place where the community perform the *poya* duties must be consecrated by a *Sangha.*

When the assembly is complete, the priests, dressed in their three robes, will consecrate such an area for the performance of the *poya* by the community, not intruding upon the village or its precincts.

Such is the formula.

Karmachári. Every enclosed place where, &c. &c &c. is consecrated by a *Sangha.*

The assembly, dressed in their three robes, will now constitute such an area a place for, &c. &c. &c. not intruding upon the village and its precincts.

Does any venerable one assent to the consecration of such an area for the community to perform the *poya* duties, let him be now silent.

Does any one object, let him now speak.

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BESTOWMENT OF THE KAT'HINA.*

(This ceremony being also the act of a *Sangha*, the same forms are observed in constituting the assembly as are used in conferring *upasampadá*.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The assembly has received this *kat'hina* cloth for bestowment on the priest . . . . .

If the time of the assembly be arrived, the assembly will bestow this *kat'hina* cloth upon the priest . . . . . to unfold (or spread before the assembly).

Such is the formula.

(The whole of the foregoing is repeated.)

* "*Kat'hina*," &c. The bestowment of a *kat'hina* is one of the most noted and meritorious acts that a pious *Budd'hist* can perform. The word signifies hard, difficult, &c. in allusion to the mode in which it is done. The *kat'hina* cloth must be prepared from the raw material (cotton) all on the same day, and on the same spot of ground. The cotton having been gathered from the tree, must be brought at sunrise to the place appointed by the donor; here it must be prepared, spun, woven, and dyed before the sun goes down. During this process the *Sangha*, sometimes consisting of several hundred priests, must be present, and must select the priest upon whom, when completed, it is to be bestowed. The donor has no power of fixing upon the person himself, although in some cases it is known that this expensive ceremony costs him several thousands of dollars.

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The assembly has received this *kat'hina* cloth to be unfolded (in the assembly) by the priest . . . . .

The assembly will give this *kat'hina* cloth to be unfolded (in the presence of the assembly) to the priest . . . . .

Does any venerable one assent to give this *kat'hina* cloth to be unfolded by the priest . . . . . let him be silent.

Does any one not assent, let him now speak.

(The foregoing is repeated.)

Karmachári. This *kat'hina* cloth is bestowed by this assembly to be unfolded by the priest . . . . .

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

(Here the interlocutor introduces the form to be observed by the donor of a *kat'hina*, which is as follows.)

If the donor of a *kat'hina* has a cloth to bestow, and if he do not understand (the form to be observed in bestowing it), he must inquire (of the master of the ceremonies), saying: Sir, in what manner ought the *kat'hina* to be presented? He must then be informed, that if the cloth be sufficient for any of the three robes, he must present it (to the *Sangha* or assembly) at sunrise, saying, "I present this cloth as a *kat'hina* robe!"

If the priest who is to receive the *kat'hina* wishes to use it as a *sanghate*, he must lay aside his old *sanghate*, and must ardently desire the new one, expressing in

words, I will unfold (before the assembly) this *kat'hina* as a *sanghate.*

The priest having spread out the *kat'hina*, must approach the assembly, and having thrown his *uttárasanga*, or outer robe, across his shoulders, must thus address them :

Reverend assembly !

This *kat'hina* is now unfolded in the presence of this assembly. O rejoice at the religious unfolding of the *kat'hina.*

The assembly. O venerable one ! *kat'hina* is unfolded to the assembly. We rejoice at the religious unfolding of the *kat'hina.*

(Next follows the investiture of the priest with the *kat'hina*, which has been presented and accepted by the *Sangha* or assembly, and is as follows.)

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me !

If the time of the assembly be arrived, the assembly will invest the priest . . . with the *kat'hina* (which has now been presented and accepted).

Such is the formula.

Karmachári. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

Does any reverend one assent to the investiture of the priest . . . with this *kat'hina*, let him be silent.

Does any one not assent, let him now speak.

The assembly has invested the priest . . . . with the *kat'hina.*

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

(Here follows the enumeration of five privileges or exemptions from clerical restrictions enjoyed by the priest that has received the *kat'hina,)* viz.

1. Going (to any place) without invitation.

2. Walking about without consent (of the other priests).

3. Appropriating to himself the food that has been presented to a community of the priests, (any number above two forms a community.)

4. Being able to appropriate to his own use all or any of the robes which are offered to a community of the priests.

5. Being able to wear the *yottatta** robes.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE ELECTION OF A THERA UNDER SOME SPECIAL NAME.†

(The same routine is observed in assembling the *Sangha* and appointing the officers, as is given at the head of Chap. I.)

The *Priest* (candidate for becoming a *thera.*) Reverend assembly, I desire to be elected a *thera*, under

* Of the word *yottatta* I can obtain no explanation from any source whatever.

† *"Thera,"* &c. This word is from the Sanscrit *st'hávira*, and signifies aged, venerable, respected, &c. From it is formed

the name of . . . . . (This is repeated three times.)

Having made known his request, he must proceed to address the assembly through the medium of an able and eloquent priest. Thus—

Priest. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The priest . . . requests to be elected a *thera* by the name of . . . . If the time of the assembly be arrived, the assembly will elect the priest . . . a *thera*, under the name of . . . (This formula is repeated.)

Such is the formula.

Priest. Does any reverend one assent to the election of the priest a *thera*, under the name of . . . let him be silent.

Does any reverend one not assent, let him now speak.

The assembly has elected the priest . . . a *thera*, by the name of . . . .

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

the *Elu* or *Singhalese* epithet *tera*, which, with the honorific *unanse*, gives the title in daily use for a priest of BUDD'HA, namely, *terunanse*. It is the highest rank in the priesthood, and a *terunanse* is the head of a *vihâra*, or temple; he is the chief in a *pansala*, or residence and college of priests, and according to the civil institutions which are connected with *Budd'hism*, but which are great corruptions in the system, he can hold, and at his death bequeath, a right of property in temples and lands, &c. to any other *terunanse* he may appoint to succeed him.

CHAPTER VI.

ON GIVING A NAME TO A PRIEST.*

(For the introductory formula see the heading to the foregoing Chapters.)

Priest. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

I desire to assume the name of . . . (This is repeated three times.)

Having thus made known his request, he must proceed to address the assembly through the medium of an able and eloquent priest. Thus,

Priest. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The priest . . . . requests permission to assume the name . . . .

If the time of the assembly be arrived, the assembly will authorize the priest . . . to assume the name . . .

Such is the formula.

Priest. Does any venerable one assent to permission being granted to the priest to assume the name . . . let him be silent.

Does any venerable one not assent, let him now speak.

* "On giving a name to a priest." The practice which universally prevails in Ceylon is, for the *terunánse* to assume the name of the village where his *vihára* is situated.

The assembly grants permission to the priest . . . to assume the name . . . . .

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE DEDICATION OF A TEMPLE.

(This ceremony must also be performed by a *Sangha*, who are supposed to be on the spot.)

The introductory formula of the *karmawakya* having been duly performed, an able and eloquent priest must be chosen to address the assembly. Thus,

Priest. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

If the time of the assembly be arrived, the assembly will dedicate the temple named . . . .

Such is the formula.

Priest. Let the reverend assembly hear me!

The assembly will dedicate the temple called . . . .

Does any venerable one assent to the dedication of the temple called . . . . let him be silent.

Does any venerable one not assent, let him now speak!

The assembly has dedicated the temple named . . .

The assembly being silent, I infer that it assents.

TRANSLATION OF AN EXTRACT

FROM

A HORTICULTURAL WORK,

IN PERSIAN,

BY

BABOO RADHAKANT DEB,

OF CALCUTTA.

TRANSLATION OF AN EXTRACT

FROM

A HORTICULTURAL WORK

IN PERSIAN.

For producing scent in Flowers.

Dig round the roots of the plants which do not yield scented flowers; bruise the shoots or buds of jamoon, (or eugenia jambos,) mootha, (or cyperus rotundus,) and khus, (or andropogon muricatus,) and boil them together in water, with which, when cool, water the roots of the plants, and scented flowers will be produced. If a similar method be used with plants already yielding fragrant flowers, their scent will (by the blessing of God) be greatly increased. Fruit-trees also, with the like application, will produce scented fruits, if it be done when the plants are tender.

If the fat of horned animals, cows milk, munjuth, (Bengal madder,) and coott, (costus speciosus,) be mixed with, or infused in water, and applied to the roots of scented flowers, it will increase their scent.

For changing colours in Flowers.

If it be required to change the colour of white flowers to a gold hue, munjeet, or Bengal madder, (rubia munjista,) vermilion, alum, and pigeon's flesh, should be well pounded with cow's milk, and with these the roots of trees (being first cleared) ought to be smeared over. If the soil be bad, fresh earth should be brought from a cultivated field, and supplied in its stead, then zurd-chobe, or turmerick, dhak flower, (butea frondosa,) munjeet, or Bengal madder, and lodh, or symplocos racemosa, being boiled in water, cooled, and mixed with a little vermilion, alum, and cow's milk, should be used in watering, and repeated until flower is produced.

To make Creeping Plants.

If the ground be dug, one cubit in length, breadth, and depth, the hollow should be filled up with the bones of a cow, and fire set to the same, till they be burnt to ashes, and become cool of themselves; then beef being boiled in water, the ashes should be moistened with it, so that the moisture may reach the lower surface of the ground; after which any fruit-trees may be planted, fine earth put into the pit, and irrigated with the above-mentioned water: the plant will then grow like a creeper, and its natural fruit and flower will be produced in that state.

For producing abundance of Fruits in Trees.

Of those flowers that have no seed, viz. nurgis, or narcissus, sowsun, or lily, shubbo or tuberose, &c. the roots of a few of them united together, and unctuated with ghee and honey, tied with untwisted thread or yarn, again wetted with the ghee and honey, then planted in a good soil, and repeatedly irrigated; after a short time these roots will produce scions and flowers of various colours, so that no one will be able to distinguish their several kinds.

Of those plants that require cutting, as rose, cunare, or oleander, &c. the hewn grafts or slips being put together, wetted with ghee and honey, and tied with untwisted thread, wetted again with the ghee and honey, should be planted in a fit soil, and treated with sweet well-water. Flowers of various and extraordinary colours will be produced. Branches or slips of pomegranate trees may also be united with them.

For removing Diseases of Trees.

If insects infest any creeper, the dregs of koonjud, or sesamum seed, being mixed up with water, should be employed in watering the plants, and the insects will leave them.

If the leaves be infected with insects, ashes of dried cow-dung and the dust of old bricks should be sprinkled upon the leaves, and the insects will be removed.

For producing Flowers of various colours.

If the fat of a serpent (or of the dhamon kind) be boiled in water, and used upon any kind of tree or creeper, it will prove beneficial in producing abundance of fruit.

If hen's dung be put upon the roots of vines, and sufuree fish, or cyprinus chrysopareius, and the flesh of horned beasts, be boiled in water, and used in watering them with, the grapes will be abundant.

For removing Insects from Plants.

If raisins, mustard, and sufuree fish (a sort of carp) be mixed up together, and smoked under the diseased tree, its disease will be removed.

For sweetening Fruit.

If ghee, or clarified butter, baiberung, or embelia ribes, sugar, and cooth, or costus speciosus, be mixed together, and smoked close to a young tree; and if cow's milk and honey be mixed together in water, and the young plant watered with it, as well as covered all over with straw, the fruit will be very sweet.

If a jack tree be irrigated with the water of treefala, or tree myrobalanus, and its whole trunk be covered with straw, it will yield large and flavoured fruit.

If a conar, or jujube tree, be watered with the infusion

of jethemudhoo, or liquorice, and coonjud, or sesamum, (these being first pounded together, and mixed with honey and cwath water,*) it will yield sweet, fragrant, coloured, and large fruit.

If the rind of jamun, or blackberry tree, ghee, honey, lodh, or symplocos racemosa, and jow, or barley, be thinly pounded and mixed together, and if the roots of these four trees, viz. conar, or jujube, burhul, or artocarpus lacucha, amla, or phyllanthus emblica, be plastered with, and smoked with sesamum, honey, and barley, for twelve days continually, they will yield plenty and sweet fruits.

If baiberung, or embelia ribes, maush, or phaseolus radiatus, koonjud, or sesamum, surshuf, or mustard, and bel fruit, or aegle marmelos, be all boiled together in water, and cooled, and if an orange plant, or citrus aurantium, be irrigated with it, then it will yield sweet and flavoured fruits.

If the plants of roybel, or Arabian jasmine, and nagessur, or mesua ferrea, be irrigated with mootha, or cyperus rotundus, jograut, or coagulated milk, koonjud, or sesamum, shurab or liquor, cow's milk, and "cwath water," then those trees will yield abundant and fragrant flowers.

If the plant of moulsuree, or mimusops elengi, be destitute of vernal beauty, desire a young and beautiful girl to take a little wine in her mouth, gargle and throw

* Vide page 24.

it on the plant, or to scratch the bottom of the plant with her nails, then it will produce abundant flowers.

If the creeper of madhuvi lata, or gaertnera racemosa, be wetted with wine, in the evening, it will bring forth plenty of flowers.

If the plant of gatul, or trumpet-flower, (bignonia suaveolens,) be watered with khus, or andropogon muricatus, and cow's milk, it will produce very fragrant flowers.

Of Seasons.

There are six seasons during the whole year, each comprising two months, viz. Dey and Behmen, or December and January, being khezan, or the falling of leaves; Isfendyar and Fururwdee, or February and March, being buhar, or spring; Ardibehesht and Khordad, or April and May, being tabistaun, or summer; Teer and Amerdad, or June and July, being bursauth, or rainy season; Shuhrewur and Mehur, or August and September, being surud, or autumn; and Abaun and Azur, or October and November, being zumistaun, or winter.

If the plant of roybel, or Arabian jasmine, be in the month of Azur, or when the sun enters Sagittarius, wrapped with dry and old straw, and set fire to, so as to be burnt in toto; and then in the month of Behmen, or when the sun enters Aquarius, be irrigated every evening with the water of khus, or andropogon muricatus, (the khus being thrown into water and mixed

with cow's milk,) the plant will in a short time be verdant, and produce abundance of branches and very fragrant flowers.

To prevent the falling of Hailstones.

If white rice boiled, and mixed with coagulated milk, be scattered in the garden, or cultured ground, the hail will not fall on it.

Chapter on the Diseases of Trees.

There are two kinds of diseases in trees, viz. budunee, or corporeal, and hadissee, or accidental. Corporeal is that which springs from the tree, and accidental is such as happens by insects, effect of frost, and other casualties. Corporeal is of three sorts, viz. sufrai, or acidulous; bulgumee, or phlegmatic; and badi, or flatulent.

The symptoms of flatulent diseases are those by which the trunks of trees become thin, the branches knotted and crooked, the leaves pustuled, and the fruits hard, dry, and withered; the cause of which is the continual irrigation of the plants with cold or fetid water, or the dryness of the ground.

The symptoms of phlegmatic diseases are delay in trees to shoot forth, their colour being yellowish, their leaves crumpled, and they yield less fruit, though they are sappy, yet insipid. The cause proceeds from irrigating the plants continually with too much sweet water, or giving much oily, sour, and cold water, during the

time of the fall of leaves, and in the beginning of the spring.

The symptoms of acidulous or bilious disease are, that the leaves become always yellow, the fruits soon fall to the ground, and dry daily; the leaves, flowers, and fruits are apparently withered, and the trees appear in a decayed state from their colour.

Accidental diseases are also of three kinds: 1st, the roots of trees injured by insects; 2nd, burnt by fire and destroyed by frost; 3rd, wounded mortally with arrows, hatchet, or other instrument.

Symptoms of infection by insects are, that the leaves of trees become yellow, and withered in the sun, and that they are either rooted up, or broken by high winds; the preservation of such trees is difficult.

The symptoms of fire are, that every tree which has the heat of fire, or which has been frost-bitten, is totally dried, as if it had been planted in a bad soil.

Symptoms of the wound of arrow are, the flowing of juice out of a wound in the tree, and the plant becoming slender in its trunk, and yielding little fruit.

Some trees are spontaneously wounded, from which flows juice, which is occasioned by phlegm, or abundance of sap.

The causes of all these corporeal diseases are owing to the method of planting, irrigating, and discerning good and bad qualities of the soil, so that without knowing the art of production, they must act contrarily; and

if the method, &c. be even known, they may overdo, by watering too much, or for want of a perfect knowledge of the quality of the ground, they may plant trees in unsuitable places, and improper monsoons, deviate from the rules laid down, sow bad seeds, fail in planting, and not adopt a complete process, for which reasons flatulent, phlegmatic, and bilious diseases in trees are produced. If there be a failure in seeds, the plants become barren, and never yield fruit and flower.

If any smell arises from a tree, or if none at all, and the leaves become crooked, it may be presumed that ants have made their nest under the tree, or there may be an inundation of water.

Medicines for Flatulent Diseases.

The flesh of horned animals, clarified butter, cow's milk, and sesamum seed, being pounded together, and the whole boiled in water, should be put to the root of the tree which is afflicted with flatulent disease; it will then be verdant and fruitful, after which a smoke should be made under it with the wood of num-tree, (or melia azadirachta,) the horn of a cow, the hoof of a horse, clarified butter, and the fat of a cat.

Medicines for Phlegmatic Diseases.

When any tree appears to be phlegmatically diseased, bitter, pungent, and astringent medicines, produced from

grass-seed and wood, should be boiled in water, and punchmool, or a composition of five roots, viz. the bel, premna longifolia, cassia, gmelina arborea, and the trumpet-flower, being boiled with cow's urine, and mixed with the above water, the tree should be irrigated with it. First, the earth should be removed from the root of the tree, and filled up with fresh dry earth that has nothing in it; and white mustard being well pounded, should be put to the root of the tree under the earth; then the phlegmatic disease will be cured.

Medicines for Bilious Diseases.

Cool and sweet drugs being boiled in water, and mixed with cow's milk, honey, liquorice, and mohooah, or bassia latifolia, should be given to the tree, as well as triphulla, or tree myrobalanus, being boiled in water, and mixed with clarified butter and honey; the tree to be irrigated with these waters for some days, when the bilious complaint will be removed.

Medicines to destroy Insects.

The earth around the root of the tree which appears to be infested with insects should be dug out, and every kind of insect that may be found there should be removed; then the opening should be well filled with fresh earth, taken from a cultured field, and irrigated with cold water, mixed in clarified butter, mustard, and

sesamum; and also bhelawah, or marking-nut, rice, and cow-dung, being boiled in water, mixed with cow's milk, mud, and "Cunabee-water," should be continually used for a few days; mustard, angooza, or assafœtida, baiberung, or embelia ribes, buch, or orris-root, long pepper, clarified butter, cow's horn, bhelawah, or semecarpus anacardium, and pigeon's flesh, should be mixed with a little "cwath-water," and smoked close to the root of the tree; then the insects will never remain, nor be produced again.

Medicines for Wounds.

The tree wounded with arrow, &c. should be plastered in the wounded place with baiberung, or embelia ribes, sesamum, cow's urine, clarified butter, and mustard, well bruised and pounded, and supplied with cool water and cow's milk; then the wound will be cured.

Medicines for Plants injured by Frost, &c.

The tree which has been injured by frost or the sun should be covered with straw, and moistened with "cwath-water" and cow's milk. Although its reviving is beyond imagination, yet if it be a little fresh, then it will revive, and become green and verdant, (if God grant.)

Chapter to discern Lucky and Unlucky Trees.

Reihaun, or odoriferous herb, peepul, or long pepper, bel, or aegle marmelos, amlah, or emblic myrobalan, (phyllanthus emblica,) bur, or ficus indica, neem, or melia azadirachta, anbah, or mangoe, goolur, or ficus glomerata, mohooah, or bassia latifolia, tumurhindee, or tamarind, and kaith, or wood-apple, are lucky; conar, or jujube, movez, or plaintain, anar, or pomegranate, lemu, or lime, are unlucky.

If these five plants, namely, pear, or cydonia sapida, khernee, or mimusops kauki, anar, or pomegranate, movez, or plaintain, and cuthal, or jack, be planted, or grow in a place, they ought to be left in the same place, and not be removed elsewhere, for it is said to be a bad omen.

Bade, or willow, angeer, or guava, cuchnar, or mountain ebony, (bauhinia variegata,) sugpestan, or cordia latifolia, urjoon, or terminalia alata glabra, and kuroonja, or carissa carandas, ought not to be planted within the dwelling-house, and all thorny trees should not be planted within, or close to a house, nor ought the wood of a thorny tree to be used in building, as it is a bad omen.

Chapter on the Auspicious Sides of a House for Plantation.

If the bur, or Indian fig-tree, (ficus Indica,) be planted on the side of the house from whence the sunrise (or

east side), if goolur, or ficus glomerata, be on the south, and if pakur, or waved leaf fig-tree (ficus infectoria), be on the north, they are auspicious; the contrary plantation is prohibited. If the bur-tree be a golden one, still should it not be planted at a gate of the house, nor should it be planted outside of a house, in such a place that the shadow of it may fall on the house. All trees are prohibited from being within a house, particularly the conar, or jujube-tree, &c. as hereinbefore specified.

Chapter to discern the Sides of the Garden.

The garden should not be made on the three sides of a dwelling-house, namely, south, between south and west, and between south and east; but the north and east sides are auspicious for the purpose.

Chapter on the Description of Soil.

In every country the soil is of three kinds, viz.—the ground situated at a distance from water is termed "jangala," that contiguous to it is called "anupa," and that which is neither remote from, nor close to water, is styled "samāna."

Each description of the soil has six different colours, namely, black, almond-colour, wheat-colour, or brown, red, white, and yellow. The black in taste is sweet, the almond-colour sour, the wheat-colour, or brown,

saline, the red pungent, the white bitter, and the yellow astringent.

Fruit and flower-trees ought not to be planted on the soil in which venum, pebblestones, or harbours of serpents, rats, or other noxious animals abound; or on saline soil that is far from water, such as well, pond, or river, as they will bring forth nothing.

Whatever plants are placed on soil which is soft, level, and adjacent to water, where herbage and grass grow fresh and verdant, they will soon spring up.

The soil denominated "anupa" is fit for jaca, artocarpus lacucha, palmyra, lemon, bamboo, eugenia jambos, ficus Indica, nauclea cadamba, date, nutmeg, beetle-nut, plaintain, vine, cocoanut, goli-kunghy, or pandanus odoratissimus, and the like species of fruit-trees and plants.

The "jangala" soil is required for sahojna, or hyperanthera moringa, phalsa, or grewia asiatica, bel, or aegle marmelos, konar, or zizyphus jujuba, ashoke, or jonesia asoca, and other similar plants.

The "samāna" soil is suitable for the plantation of bijowra, or citron, poonnag, or rottleria tinctoria, champa, or michelia champaca, mangoe, pomegranate, and others of the same description. Any trees to be planted on their respective proper soils as above specified, will be durable and fruitful.

If any lasting and productive tree be found on a dif-

ferent soil from that which it is adapted for, as described above, such casual growth is accounted for from the four causes, namely, that underneath the tree there might be a hidden treasure, or the tomb of a sage, or that the ruler of the country is fortunate and auspicious, or the unwearied exertion and good conduct of the planter.

Of the various kinds of Trees.

Fruit-trees are of four kinds. First, those which bear fruit without yielding blossom, such as goolur, or glomerous fig-tree, bur, or ficus Indica, &c.: they are called "bunusputi." Second, those which first produce flower and afterwards fruit, such as the mangoe-tree, &c.: these are termed "druma." Third, those which grow on supports of other plants, and bear fruit and flowers, such as khyar, or cucumis utilissimus, kuddoo, or pumpkin (cucurbita lagenaria), &c.: which class is called "luta," (or creeper). Fourth, those which produce branches from their roots, (which branches are considered their fruits,) such as naishukur, or sugar-cane, pawn, or betel (areca), and so forth: these are entitled "goolma."

The growth of trees are likewise of three kinds. First, those the seeds and stones of which are sown, such as mangoe, &c. Second, those of which slips are planted, such as the rose and betel. Third, those of which both

the seeds are sown and the cuttings planted, such as pomegranate, pakur, or ficus infectoria, kurnare, or nerium odorum, and bur, or ficus Indica. Of some plants the seeds are sown and the roots are placed, such as neelofer, or lotus, &c.

The methods of Planting and Sowing.

The stones or seeds of mangoe, jacks, and blackberries, which are ripened, should be planted whole and fresh in good soil, that they may be sweet and luxuriant; and if fresh stones be not had, but dried ones, they should be washed with cow's milk, mixed with cow-dung, and dried; afterwards, baiberung, or embelia ribes, being pounded and mixed up with honey, the stones should be preserved in that mixture for seven days, and then sown.

Another way is to soak the seeds in cow's milk for five days, after which to dry them in the shade, then to plaster them with the mixture of the ashes of bhutkutaee, or solanum jacquini, koonjud, or sesamum, and rowghunizurd, or clarified butter, and to sow them.

Some seeds are sown by breaking their points or awns; such as kheernee, or mimusops kauki, nilofer, or nymphaea lotus, khyar, or cucumis utilissimus, badrung, or cucumber, and the like. Such awned seeds should be steeped in the sherbet of molasses, wrapped up with a number of leaves of any kind of trees, and buried in a hearth, digging a hole under it. Three days after taking

them out, sow them warm; but you must previously perform the ablution, meditate on the saints, and repeat two prayers, and then sow the seeds, either with your own hand, or give them to one of your intimate friends to do so, after cleansing himself, and cover them up with straw, and water them; when they shoot forth, the straw is to be removed, and the earth moistened.

On the day and time for planting Trees and sowing Seeds.

The fourth, eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth of every month are good for this business. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, are esteemed lucky. If both the date and day happen to be together, it would be better.

Chapter for planting "Druma."

The space of twenty cubits between the "drumas" is superior; that of sixteen cubits, middling; and that of fourteen cubits, inferior. Within a less space than this, plants do not thrive.

On planting "Gulma," &c.

The first or proper distance for "gulma" is five cubits; the second, or middling, four cubits; and the third, or inferior, three cubits: at a less distance than these it should not be planted. "Luta," or creeping plants, should also be placed according to the "gulma."

Preparation of Ground.

The land should be prepared suitably to every kind of fruit-trees; one cubit in length, breadth, and depth being dug, and the earth taken out from it, the pit should be cleansed, and left one month to dry; after which it should be filled up with dried cow-dung, being pounded and mixed with cow's bones, and fire be put to burn these to ashes gradually, and to extinguish of itself; then the ashes are taken out, the place cleansed and moistened with "cwath water," (as will be described hereafter;) when the moisture is dried up, the excavation should be filled with fresh earth from a good corn-field, and in that soil the plants of mangoe, pomegranate, pumpkin, and the like, thus placed, or seeds sown, will grow plump, mellow, luxuriant, sweet, and large.

The "subzee, saug," or greens, vegetables, &c. should be placed in the same manner as directed for planting khyar, or cucumis utilissimus; then they will produce good and abundant crops.

The seeds of orange and lemon being put into the mouth, should be sown, and other seeds should be so done, by the tip of fingers; and the seeds of every plant might also be rubbed with the mucus, or pith of plaintains ripe from the tree, then dried in the sun, laid in a handful of straw, and sown in the ground prepared in the above manner, and irrigated with water; then the

trees will grow large and plump. The bed for greens, &c. may, in the above described ground, be made as small as those of saffron.

Chapter for planting Slips.

Eighteen-inch ripened or hard slips should be cut and planted a third part of their length, leaving two-thirds out, in ground excavated one cubit, equal length, breadth, and depth, and filled with half earth and half dried cow-dung, mixed together, and then supplied with sweet well-water, mixed with pandool, or pale soil.

If the slips of sudburg, or rosa glandulifera, be placed under ground like those of sugar-cane, and their beds prepared and watered; and when they spring up, if they be transplanted in a good soil after two months, they will thrive well.

Chapter for grafting Trees.

If the plants of anar, or pomegranate, and cunare, or nerium odorum, grow near each other, entwine the branches of both trees together, and having plastered with cow-dung, lay them under ground, so that the tops of the branches be left outside, and water them continually; when the tops of both the branches grow large, and new leaves spring forth, cut off the original stock, and one tree will issue from the two branches, and produce various-coloured flowers.

If young plaintain plants be placed in the mode of planting slips, and kept wet, they will produce sweeter and larger fruits.

If it be required that a tree should be removed from one place to another, or transplanted, first it ought to be a young plant, the root of which should be anointed with honey, nilofer, or nymphaea lotus seed, clarified butter, made of cow's milk, and baiberung, or embelia ribes, being mashed together; then it will be lasting.

Time for planting Trees.

When the sun enters the sign of Surtaun, or Cancer, the mangoe, kheernee, or mimusops kauki, pomegranate, maulsurree, or mimusops elengi, and the like, should be planted, as they will grow better. When the sun enters the sign of Asud, or Leo, mangoe, and burhul, or artocarpus lacucha, will also grow well; when Virgo, breenjall, and other vegetables; when Libra, gushneez, or coriander, and turee, or cucumis acutangulus; when Scorpio, Sagittarius, and Capricornus, nothing ought to be planted; when Aquarius, palwul, or trichosanthes dioeca, and the like, to be planted; when Pisces khyar, or cucumis utilissimus, turbooz, or water-melon, khurbooza, or melon, sugar-cane, and the like, to be planted; when Humul, or Aries, movez, or plantain; and when Loor, or Taurus, whatever is wished for may be planted. If the ground be good, let them continue

there, otherwise they should be transplanted in a soil prepared as hereinbefore specified.

For benefiting Trees.

If nim-trees, or melia azadirachta, be planted around the garden, other trees will be greatly benefited by their influential air.

On the foundation and preparation of Garden.

If a garden be made, these five trees should be planted first; viz. phulsah, or grewia Asiatica, some nead bhela, or marking-nut plant, asoke, or jonesia asoca, poonnag, or rottleria tinctoria, sirish, or mimosa sirissa, and nim, or melia azadirachta, as they are prosperous; after which plantations of any kind may be made. These trees should be planted on the four sides of the garden within the ditches, in the following manner:—on the east side, caronda, or carissa carandas; on the south, bamboo; on the north, conar, or jujube, and caith, or feronia elephantum; and on the west, amlah, or emblic myrobalan, and bel, or aegle marmelos, as mentioned in the book on this art.

Chapter for strengthening Trees.

Let the dregs of koonjud, or sesamum orientale, and baiberung, or embelia ribes, be pounded and dissolved in water, and the trees be plastered with it. If the young

plants be irrigated with a little cow's milk mingled in water, and also "cwath water," and if a few dregs of sesamum and clarified butter be put under a young plant and smoked with it, and repeated two or three times, the plants will become strong and greatly benefited.

For preparing "Cwath Water."

Small fish, flesh of horned cattle, and black sesamum-seed, being mixed together, and boiled in water in a thick earthen pot, should be given to the young plants after a week. When the soil is prepared, this water should be used.

The plants which have been removed from one place to another ought to be protected from the sun, and irrigated morning and evening, until the fresh shoots and leaves come forth. During the heat of the sun they should never be watered.

Of Watering.

In the jangal land, water should be given fifteen days in every month, and discontinued for fifteen days; and in anupa lands, five days in every month, giving on one day in the morning, and on the other in the evening. If the jangal and anupa lands be adjacent, they should be watered moderately two days in every month.

Old trees ought to be watered every other day in the

months of Mehur (September), and Aban (October); and in the months of Isfendyar (February), and Furwurdee (March), once every evening; and in the months of Khordad (May), and Ardibehesht (April), thrice a day; and in the months of Teer (June), Amerdad (July), Shuhrewur (August), Azur (November), and Dey (December), watering is prevented, because these are rainy and cold seasons.

Chapter for enlivening Trees.

If a tree be broken by high winds, and its root be standing, or a branch be wrenched, but still attached to it, the rinds of pakur, or ficus infectoria, and goolur, or ficus glomerata, being pounded and mixed with clarified butter and cow's milk, should be plastered to the broken parts of the tree, and strongly wrapped up with straw, and plastered over again; and the root of the tree being cleared of the old earth, fresh soil should be properly substituted, and instantly moistened with buffalo's milk, and frequently irrigated with cool water.

For trees that are injured by fire or frost there is no other remedy than eradicating them; but if they have any remaining signs of verdure and moisture, water them immediately with a mixture of cow's milk and water, after changing the earth in their roots, and make a smoke about the root with the flesh of tortoise and crab; then they will revive, if God grant.

Trees that are dried for want of sufficient water, ought to be remedied in the following manner.

Besides these diseases, the trees are withered by pandoo roge, (or the jaundice,) the symptoms of which are, that their leaves become yellowish, and the winter and spring are the same to them. The whole trunks and branches of such trees should be plastered with baiberung, or embelia ribes, clarified butter, and clay of a tank, mixed together, and irrigated for seven days with pounded barley and wheat, mingled in cow's milk, honey, and water; then they will revive.

Chapter on barren Trees.

The tree which ceases from yielding fruit, or produces the property of barrenness, should be watered with cow's milk mixed with "cwath water" for seven days; or having pounded koonjud, or sesamum, jow, or barley, koolthee or dolichos biflorus, mash, or phaseolus radiatus, and moong, or phaseolus mungo, boiled in water, and cooled, should be given for a week.

For reviving Trees injured by Water.

The tree which is withered by the superabundance of water, should be cleared about its roots, and having scratched all the roots with the nails, they should be plastered over with pounded baiberung, or embelia ribes,

mingled in honey, and then fresh earth substituted, and irrigated with cold water repeatedly.

Medicines for Vegetables.

In the fields of badunjan, or egg plant, (solanum melongena,) khyar, or cucumis utilissimus, kuddoo, or pumpkin, (cucurbita lagenaria,) and herbage, &c. a smoke should be made with cow's and dog's bones, and cat's dung, which will remove all their diseases, and destroy insects. This remedy will be found most efficacious with young plants.

If old trees be treated with the above-mentioned medicines, the application of them should be in a less degree than with young plants. If success attend, well; if not, they should be left alone.

If any young plant be not cured by medicine, it should be transplanted into other ground, to be prepared as above directed.

Chapter on some curious Operations, which may be called Magical, copied from a Horticultural Treatise.

If the seeds of mangoe be steeped in the fresh blood of tortoise and rabbit for a month, and dried afterwards in the sun, and sown at the proper season in ground prepared in the above-mentioned manner, and irrigated with "cwath water," &c. as hereinbefore stated on this

subject, then they will yield fruit during the whole year.

If the young plants of any fruit or flower-tree be kept moist with the juice of sugar-cane, mixed with dregs of sesamum, embelia ribes, and the flesh of kine, they will produce fruit in the course of a month.

For making Acid Fruits Sweet.

The root of a tree bearing acid fruit should be excavated, and filled up with muhooah, or bassia latifolia, nilofer, or nymphaea lotus, shuhud, or honey, shukerturee, or molasses, and jetheemudhoo, or liquorice, pounded together, upon which fresh earth should be put, if the old be bad, and irrigated with the water in which the aforesaid five articles have been boiled and cooled; then the tree will yield sweet fruit, though originally sour.

For making Bitter Fruits Sweet.

Dig the roots of trees yielding bitter fruits, pound the baiberung or embelia ribes, jatheemodhoo, or liquorice, and jow, or barley, mix them with molasses; take off the bark from the roots of the trees, plaster them with embelia ribes, with cow's milk, and then let all these ingredients be boiled in water, and the trees irrigated therewith. By this means the bitter fruit will be sweet.

If muhooah, or bassia latifolia, shuhud, or honey,

jatheemodhoo, or liquorice, dakh, or raisins, shukurture, or raw sugar, jow, or barley, be pounded and applied to the root of a tree, and watered in the manner hereinbefore specified, the bitter fruit will be sweetened.

For blackening Fruits.

If triphula, or tree myrobalanus, and jow or barley, be pounded, together with the kernel of mangoe-stones and indigo, and the root of a young plant be cleared and plastered with the same as before, and watered with a decoction of these articles, the fruit of the tree, of whatever colour, will be changed into black.

For preserving Fruits of a verdant Green.

If jow, or barley, dhak-flower, or butea frondosa, zurdchobe, or turmeric, koonjud, or sesamum, neel, or indigo, triphula, or tree myrobalanus, and cooth, or costus speciosus, be well ground with pure wine, and the mixture applied to the roots of a young plant, and watered in the foregoing manner, the fruit will remain green, though otherwise ripe.

For the method of dwarfing Trees.

Dig a hole in the ground about the height of a man, and pave it with bricks like a well from the foundation

up to the surface of the ground; then bring a young plant and set it. This tree will grow short, though of a large size, and yield flower and fruit as it naturally would do.

If a large tree is intended to be made dwarf, prune the tops of its small shoots, and scorch them with a firebrand; after which, plaster all the branches with a mixture of clarified butter, cow-dung, rock-salt, and honey, and then dig about the roots of the tree, and make a hole in the primary root, fixing a wooden peg into it; then cover it with the earth, and moisten it with well-water mixed with cow's milk. The tree will then become dwarf, and its branches likewise be shortened.

Appendix to the Extract from an Horticultural Work.

If the tibia, or bone of a horse's leg, be dipped in a fluid that flows from an elephant's temples in the rutting season, and tightly ingrafted into the root of a fruit-tree, after making a hole in the same, the fruits of that tree will remain green on the branches, and not fall until any one breaks them, and continue on the branches for a whole year without falling off.

If a pin of gold be made red-hot in fire of burnt ivory (thinly rasped), and the root of a vine be perforated in one or two places therewith, after which, earth being put over it, and moistened with water, (the pin being carefully kept,) it will then yield large and abundant fruit.

If the seeds of lusorah, or cordia myxa, are gathered, and oil distilled from them by an instrument called "patal yantra," the seeds of any plants softly rubbed with that oil a hundred times, or once every day, and kept in the dew at night, dried in the sun at day-time, sown in a good soil after a few days, and irrigated with rain water, they will spring up and bear fruit the very same day.

If turbooz or water-melon, and khyar, or cucumis utilissimus, and the like, when just formed, be put into an earthen pot, and its root be kept moist with the water mixed with the dregs of sesamum-seed and the flesh of horned cattle, the fruit will be as large as the pot.

Chapter.

If badrung, or cucumber, and paith, or pumpkin (cucurbita pepo), be sown in the same place, and when they grow up twisted together, and wetted with honey and clarified butter, and then wrapped with straw and plastered with cow-dung, and kept up for a few days until well united; after which, if the root of the pumpkin be separated, the cucumber will be produced like a pumpkin.

If some seeds of turbooz, or water-melon, be wetted in honey and clarified butter, and put into a raw paith, or pumpkin (cucurbita pepo), while on the stalk, through a hole made for the purpose, and the hole filled up with honey and clarified butter, and plugged up with the

same piece which has been taken out of the pumpkin, fastened by plastering it with honey and clarified butter, and left in that state until the fruit of the pumpkin becomes ripe and dry: if the seeds be then taken out of it and sown in a good soil, they will produce large fruit, containing but few seeds. But care should be taken to keep them moist with water prepared with the dregs of sesamum-seeds and the flesh of horned animals.

If the seed of neelofer, or nymphæa lotus, be preserved in dried dung and urine of buffalo for seven days, and sown in a suitable soil after breaking open the points thereof, and watered with rain water, they will produce flowers like those of kuner, or nerium odorum.

If the knot of a stalk of turbooz, or water-melon, be laid in the ground, and, when it takes root, the original root should be cut off; and another knot should then be put into the ground, when it also takes root, the former root likewise being cut off; and this process repeated three times, the water-melon will be without seed. This has been proved by experiment.

If the dung of peacocks be filled in the slough of an ajgun, or boa snake, and buried in the mire of a tank, (if in rainy season it is better, otherwise it should be kept moist with rain water,) a multitude of neelofer, or lotus plants, will spontaneously grow from it.

ACCOUNT

OF

THE GRAND FESTIVAL

HELD BY

THE AMIR TIMUR

ON THE PLAINS OF KANEH GUL,

OR MINE OF ROSES,

AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ASIA MINOR,

AND THE DEFEAT OF ILDERUM BAYAZID, OR BAJAZET, A. H. 803.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MULFUZAT TIMURI, OR LIFE OF TIMUR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

BY

COLONEL FRANCKLIN.

ACCOUNT

OF

THE GRAND FESTIVAL

HELD BY

THE AMIR TIMUR.

When the tents and seráperdahs, or royal tents, were erected and properly decorated with magnificent furniture, with carpets of costly silk, with golden thrones and chairs of state, with vessels of gold and silver, rich cups of agate and crystal, adorned with diamonds and emeralds, and all other necessary apparatus; I (the Amír), in a fortunate hour, repaired to the royal tent, which was built for the occasion, and supported by twelve poles, richly inlaid with gold and silver, and adorned with the utmost magnificence. Here I seated myself on the throne of empire, whilst my sons and grandsons, my amírs, and sirdárs of high renown, each took their respective places, surrounding me on all sides. Next I directed the seyíds, descendants of the Prophet, the learned men of the realm, the kázís, muftís, and

others to take up their proper places in this illustrious assembly.

In the same manner the ambassadors of foreign powers from Kipchák, from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, from Hindustán and Europe, were allotted their respective stations: next the commanders of hazár játs, or regiments of a thousand; those of the sad játs, of a hundred; the magistrates of the city of Samarcand, and judges of the police from different parts of the empire, were introduced, clothed in royal khalats or dresses of honour, and took their places accordingly. Before the door of the royal tent were drawn up the elephants brought from India, of enormous stature, and decorated with the most magnificent trappings of silk, velvet, and curious embroidery, with howdahs flaming with gold and silver, and chains of the same precious metal.

In order to render this festival as splendid as possible, I had collected from every part of the empire the most skilful artificers of every kind; these, with the assistance of the different companies of tradesmen within the city of Samarcand, and those of the imperial camp, such as jewellers, goldsmiths, masons, carpenters, bricklayers, embroiderers, weavers, &c. had erected upwards of one hundred *chartakis*, or pavilions, supported by four poles each, and containing as many doors to each. The inside of these pavilions was elegantly decorated with carpets of the richest kind, embroidered with gold and silver, with velvets and the finest stuffs from China and

Europe, with magnificent chairs. Each tent was ornamented with the particular badge of the artificer who erected it; they were likewise furnished with paintings done in the most exquisite taste, and exhibited within and without a most glorious spectacle, such as the eye of mortal had never before beheld, and which caused the spectator to place the finger of astonishment within his mouth on beholding. To enhance the pleasure of this august assembly, performers of all kinds and descriptions had been collected from far and near; mimicks, buffoons, singers, dancers, and every profession which contributes to the amusement and entertainment of the great. When this festival, than which the eye had not beheld one more splendid, nor the ear heard of one equal, became complete, I, in a fortunate moment, directed men learned in the stars*, and skilled in the motions of the heavenly bodies, to extract from the almanacks, and by the astrolabe and quadrant to inspect the situation of the propitious and unfortunate stars, that they might with precision draw forth a happy moment for the celebration of the nuptials of my beloved grandsons, who had long since been betrothed to virgins dwelling in the asylum of chastity; which being done, I ordered that the ceremony should be performed agreeably to the established faith of Muhammed and the ordinances of our holy religion. These things being per-

* The science of judicial astrology forms to this day a part of education in the eastern world.

formed, a prayer for the health and prosperity of my illustrious progeny was recited in public by the venerable Shaikh Shams-ad-dín Mohammed Rezá, an Imám of much celebrity; likewise the Múlaví Siláh-ad-dín; the Kází al Kazát of Samarcand, a person eminent for his piety and learning, bestowed his benediction in public upon the fortunate bridegrooms. After the marriage ceremony had been thus conducted, agreeably to the ordinances of Hanífah, I commanded the drums, and trumpets, and the imperial music to strike up; after which trays filled with gold and silver, with jewels and precious stones of all sorts, were brought forth, and I directed the Nisár* to be performed; which was done agreeably to established custom, and a profusion of wealth was poured upon the heads of this august assembly.

When the marriage was concluded, I ordered a sumptuous repast to be served up, at which the Amir Zádahs, or princes of the blood, the Omrá, or nobles, Núwínán,† foreign ambassadors, and all the nobility assembled. A variety of gold and silver dishes, filled with the most costly viands, were served up to the assembly; nor were there wanting wines of the finest quality, presented by cup-bearers of graceful shapes.

* A Tartarian ceremony, which consists of a variety of gold and silver coins, jewels and precious stones, placed in gold and silver vessels, and thrown promiscuously over the heads of the newly-married couples.

† Núwinán, an order of Tartarian nobility.

At this banquet, likewise, were assembled companies of the most eminent singers in the empire, and dancers of approved skill, to the amount of many thousands, who by their excellence in their respective professions afforded delight to the spectators. Among the foremost of these performers was Khoaja Abdulazíz, who bore the palm of pre-eminence from his competitors, and whose equal was not to be found on earth. There came likewise reciters of poetry and story-tellers from all parts of my dominions to this solemnity; and among them were Turks, Moguls, Chinese, and Russians. When the hearts of this august company became warm with wine and good cheer, I ordered the khalats to be brought forth and distributed, first to the Amír Zádahs, or princes of the blood, the Omrá, the nobility, the Núwínán, and the learned men of the realms, foreign ambassadors,* and others. These khalats consisted of dresses of gold and silver tissue, silks and velvets of various kinds and patterns; embroidered caps, and sashes for the waist; scimitars inlaid with gold and set in precious stones; horses from the best breeds of Arabia and Persia, with saddles and housings of gold and silver; in short, such a profusion of wealth was distributed on this auspicious occasion, that no one present had any care for the remainder of his days; nor on this occasion were the poor and needy forgotten,

* By European ambassadors, are meant those of the kings of Castile and Arragon, who it appears were present on this occasion.

for I directed my almoners to provide for them in the most ample manner, and to furnish them with all things necessary, both of apparel and provision. When the repast was finished, the whole company changed their dresses, during which ceremony the musicians and dancers exerted themselves to charm by their melodious voices, and the gracefulness of their actions. At length, the fortunate moment being arrived, the Amír Zádahs who had been married, each returned to his respective mahal, or palace, which had been prepared for the occasion with the utmost magnificence and splendour; after which, I arose and retired into the apartments of privacy, where I was met on my entrance by the whole of the Sultánahs of inviolable chastity, who, wishing me joy on this auspicious festival, showered down upon my head trays full of the most precious jewels.

In the morning I waited upon the Amír Zádahs, and paid them compliments of congratulation on their marriage (Mobarik Bádí): wishing them a long and prosperous life, I directed the Nisár to be performed a second time, and was followed by the Sultánahs, the Omrá, the Núwínán, and the whole of the nobility and great men of the city of Samarcand. When the ceremony was performed, I returned to the royal Bárgáh (or imperial tent), and seated myself on the throne of empire; and directing the ambassadors to be called in who had arrived from Egypt, Syria, Europe,

the Desert of Kapchák, Mogulestán, Hindustán, and Rúm, (Asia Minor,) I directed them to be invested with khalats of the utmost magnificence, and presented them with fine horses, with embroidered housings, with scimitars inlaid with jewels, with golden poniards, and caps and sashes of the finest Cashmerian wool. And in honour of these auspicious marriages, I commanded the festival to be held for two months in that agreeable and delicious valley, where everything that art and nature could afford was introduced, and the whole time was a season of mirth, joy, and gladness.

At the conclusion, every one was dismissed with suitable presents, and I then turned my thoughts to the management of the affairs of my empire, and my long meditated project of conquering the kingdom of Khotá (China)*.

* Khotá, China.—The Amír Timúr, (says the luminous Gibbon,) after crossing the Jaxartes on a bridge of ice, pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of *Otrar*, where he was expected by the angel of death!

See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," &c.

THE END.

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